HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Moves Without Congressional Approval

Administration Expands Trade with Reds

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From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson apparently isn't taking any chances on Congress' approving his announced plan to expand trade with Iron Curtain countries.

Without fanfare, the Administration already is doing exactly that.

The likelihood in this election year of Congress' going on record to increase East-West trade is remote. [Editor's note: On May 12, in fact, Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee announced that he would not introduce the trade liberalizing legislation requested by the Administration and would not hold hearings on it this year.]

Still languishing in the Senate is last year's laboriously negotiated agreement with Moscow to open consular offices in the two countries. Opposition to that is so powerful that no move has been made to act on the treaty.

It's a safe conclusion the President's proposal to boost East-West trade would have no better luck. But unpublished Commerce Department records disclose the Administration already is opening the door as wide as it can to further trade with the Communists. Last year that topped $143 million.

This has been ascertained by Rep. Glenard Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), member of the House Appropriations Defense subcommittee. After a lot of digging, he has uncovered the following significant facts:

• In 1962 East-West trade totaled less than $50 million. In 1963 it jumped to $139 million; in 1964 to $406 million due to the sale of $320 million in agricultural commodities; last year upwards of $143 million.

• Much of this business has far greater military value to the Reds than the dollar total would indicate.

"We sold them electronic equipment, aircraft parts, industrial instruments, chemicals, metals and a tremendous amount of technical data," Lipscomb pointed out, "and we did that without having any idea of its ultimate use. The Johnson Administration talks about increasing trade and building bridges to the East at the very time the Soviet is powerfully aiding our enemy in North Viet Nam.

"I am utterly unable to understand how it makes any sense to help equip the Communists who are assisting aggressors to kill and maim our soldiers in Viet Nam."

Dramatically illustrative of Lipscomb's stinging accusation is the following astonishing contradiction:

Last July and August the Commerce Department issued export licenses for the shipment of $5.436 million of copper scrap to Yugoslavia. At that very time the department was directing U.S. manufacturers of copper products to divert a greater proportion of the metal for military orders.

Also uncovered by Rep. Lipscomb are three unannounced instances of sales to the Soviet bloc this year of distinct military value:

• Technical data for the construction in Russia of three giant fertilizer plants to produce ammonia, nitric acid and ammonium nitrate. Lipscomb points out that in the last few years the Soviet has supplied North Viet Nam with more than 150,000 tons of fertilizer.

• $660,000 of platinum pellets to Bulgaria. These pellets are used for the production of high octane gasoline, and to increase yields in the chemical industry. World demand for platinum is soaring, and Bulgaria's principal suppliers have been Russia and East Germany.

• Sale to Rumania of electronic and navigational equipment for installation in planes obtained from Russia. Also instruments for testing flight equipment.

Lipscomb critically notes that while the Commerce Department is permitting a great deal of technical information to be exported to the Soviet bloc, no dollar value is placed on it. There is not even a reference to this matter in the department's annual report on East-West trade.

But the Communists consider this technical data, Lipscomb declares, the most important part of their trade with the United States. As evidence of this, he points out the data usually involves the construction of huge industrial undertakings.

As significant examples, Lipscomb cites that in 1965 Russia imported U.S. technical data for the design and building of:

• Ethylene plant, capable of producing one million metric tons of heavy petroleum a year. The plant also would produce hydrogen propane, propylene, butane, butylenes and gasoline. Plastics, petrochemicals and synthetic fibers are produced from them.

Despite congressional disapproval of trading with the Communist bloc, especially with a war going on in Viet Nam, the Administration, through the Commerce Department, is still pushing for increased trade. Such "trade" has involved millions of dollars worth of strategic plants and industrial knowhow.

• Plant to manufacture 4,000 tons annually of parachloroaniline, and 2,500 tons of di-chloroniline—used among other things as a weed killer.

Other technical data the Commerce Department permitted to be sent to the Communists was for a methane pipeline booster station in Rumania; gas processing plant in Russia; copper rolling mill, pulp mill evaporator and an ammonium sulfate plant in East Germany, electrolytic process plant in Hungary; and a silicone steel processing plant in Czechoslovakia.

To cope with this serious backstage situation, Rep. Lipscomb wants to establish a special watchdog committee such as existed in the 87th Congress (1961-63). He was a member of this committee.

Under his proposal government agencies would be required to report to the committee all exports to Communist countries, which it in turn would publish.

The latter is deemed of utmost importance by Lipscomb as a result of his own experience. He has encountered vigorous resistance in endeavoring to obtain such information. This occurred only recently when he was digging into reports of shipments of agricultural insecticides and pesticides to Russia.

"I didn't ask for the names of the companies involved," says Lipscomb. "What I wanted to know was the type of chemicals being sold and the amount. But I was bluntly rebuffed. I got nowhere."

A.B. Trowbridge, director of the Commerce Department's foreign trade section, told Lipscomb the information was "confidential." No reason was given for that. Trowbridge merely proclaimed it as follows:

"The information you have requested is of the type that is held confidential . . . and is available only on a confidential basis to congressional committees at their request. Such a request should state the use to which the information desired would be put and a commitment that the information would be accorded the same degree of confidentiality as it is accorded by the Department of Commerce."

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Practical Politics—IX

Preventing Vote Fraud

Since all your campaign efforts are designed to see that a maximum number of people vote for your candidate, it is altogether fitting that this last installment discuss methods of insuring that these votes are counted.

Most Americans have heard stories of irregularities and fraud like these, but their attitude, nonetheless, remains "It can't happen here"—their local precinct is immune from such shenanigans. This may or may not be true, but there is no reason to leave the matter to faith. It is much more difficult to reverse an election on grounds of fraud after the votes have been counted than to prevent the fraud from taking place at all.

Here are some of the steps needed to help insure ballot security:

PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY:

• Precinct leaders should select at least one challenger for every polling place, if at all possible.

• Challengers should be instructed in the election laws of the state, county and community and made familiar with any past fraud.

• Precinct leaders should supply each challenger with a copy of the state's election law to carry to the polling place. If this is not possible, at least a digest of your rights and limitations as a challenger, voter qualifications and challenge procedures can be distributed.

• Proper credentials should be handed out.

ELECTION DAY:

• Challengers should arrive at least 20 minutes before the polls open and introduce themselves to the election officials on duty.

• Ask to see the credentials of all the officials and party representatives in the poll area to make sure no unauthorized persons are present.

• If paper ballots are used, insist upon inspecting each ballot box before it is locked and voting begins to make sure the boxes are empty; if machines are used, insist on inspecting each register on every machine to make sure all the dials are set at zero.

• Examine each voter carefully. Check signatures to see that they match those in the registration book. Ask to see driver's license or other identification if you have any doubts about the person's identity. Watch for repeat voters and strangers.

• If you are not satisfied that a person can legitimately vote, challenge him on the spot. Complaining later will do no good. Allow a challenged person to vote only if his paper ballot is held aside, separate and identified, until your challenge can be settled. If machines are being used, do not let him cast his vote. According to the law in your state and the procedures your organization has worked out, call your precinct headquarters, the police or other appropriate authority if the election officials at the polling place ignore your challenges.

• Other irregularities to watch out for include: ballot box stuffing; defacing ballots; switching boxes; improperly sealing boxes or ballots; wedged voting machine handles; blacked-out or switched candidates' names inside voting machines; bribery; acts of intimidation or violence; improper assistance given voters; placement of party-distributed sample ballots inside the voting booths.

• If you see anything out of order, insist that the polls be closed until the matter is settled. Do not be overly quarrelsome or petty, but—more importantly—don't be intimidated into backing down if you really think something is wrong. Don't be put off with the argument that the dispute can "be handled later."

AFTER THE VOTING:

• Ballots should be counted or machine totals recorded *immediately* after the polls close. There should be no "rest period" during which tampering can take place.

• Watch carefully to see that ballots are counted and tallied correctly. Keep your own running total and check this with the official figure. Inspect personally every ballot declared invalid.

• Look at the figures on the voting machine yourself and make sure the election official has them recorded correctly.

• Be on guard to see that a ballot counter or election official does not fill in a vote for an office the voter may have left blank.

• If a major irregularity is uncovered at your polling place, do not leave until the authorities arrive and the matter is satisfactorily settled.

• Make sure boxes and machines are properly locked and delivered for storage.

• Challengers should be present when absentee ballots are counted.

These procedures sound complicated, but they are well worth the trouble.

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This is the end of our present series on practical politics, but future articles will be written from time to time as new campaign techniques come to our attention.

One final note: One of our favorite subscribers, a charming lady from Los Angeles who has long been active in Republican politics, has objected to some advice on fund-raising we gave in our fourth installment, April 16. We had suggested using the same people to collect money as had canvassed the precinct filling out voter information cards.

Our subscriber says that bitter experience has proved that this should be done only if there is a shortage of people; she has found that many voters object to being asked for money and therefore it is better if one group does the fund-raising and another the candidate-selling. Since election successes like Goldwater's 1964 California primary victory make doubting this lady's advice dangerous, we are glad to pass her suggestion along to our readers.

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Despite Earlier Pledges

Administration Ignores Underground Testing

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 halted one kind of fall-out, but produced another. The noxious particles from American and Russian aerial tests ceased to flutter, but the two kinds of brain-cell emissions continued to flit.

One type of nuclear thinking declared: "Hurray! Having obtained a Russo-American bargain not to test in the atmosphere, let us push for an agreement not to test anywhere at all." But the other type of nuclear cogitation put forth this idea: "If we've got good sense, we will study every aspect of underground testing so as to learn about Russian capabilities and so as to perfect our own."

The first of these schools of thought is an abiding danger to us, for it contemplates a unilateral disarmament that would leave us naked to our enemies. The second is the best hope we have of not getting caught by blackmail, or by a sneak attack, with our guard down.

Two men in Congress, members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, have been vigilant and skeptical about any unintentional disarmament in the nuclear field. One is a Democrat, Sen. Henry ("Scoop") Jackson of Washington, and it may be that he is slightly inhibited by party loyalty. The other is a Republican, Rep. Craig Hosmer of California, and it may be that he is rendered hypercritical by being an anti-Administration partisan.

But to be on the safe side, we should pay plenty of attention to Rep. Hosmer, the gadfly—which is more than most newspapers do. And considering what is involved, we should be plenty grateful to Hosmer for the amount of brain-fag he gives to this tedious but momentous subject. He made a House floor speech recently that is a flashing signal of stop-look-listen.

Hosmer points out that both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson pledged themselves to certain "safeguards" which were adopted by Congress along with the treaty. He charges that the Administration has failed to live up to its pledges. With the treaty less than three years old, the Administration has become more concerned with dreamy hopes than with the realities of financing the safeguards.

In order to get a true picture, Hosmer adjusts the spending figures by a 5 per cent inflationary discount—government dollars now buy 5 per cent less than when we began serious underground research five years ago. By translating the outlay for this research from dollars into percentages, Hosmer reaches a frightening conclusion. He says:

"This kind of comparison shows that the actual magnitude of U.S. efforts in 1967, after the treaty, will be something like 10 per cent less than in 1962-63, before the treaty. . . . No longer is there a healthy growth in this program. It is being constricted—not only by a reduction in funds, but also by a drop in the amount of testing those funds will buy due to inflationary factors."

Taking fiscal year 1965 as the base, or the 100 per cent year, Hosmer compares what has happened to safeguard spending that was done in '66 and the spending that is planned in '67.

For conducting our underground tests, we spent 5.5 per cent more in '66 but 8 per cent less in '67. For laboratory facilities, we spent 4 per cent less in '66 and 12 per cent less in '67. For monitoring Sino-Soviet actions, we spent 1.5 per cent less in '66 and .8 per cent less in '67.

Hosmer sums up by saying that the safeguard trend is "downward" and the signs are for a "faltering future." Only those who are counting on universal nuclear disarmament will be glad. All those who believe in "trust God but keep your powder dry," have every right to be worried.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U. S. roving Ambassador Averell Harriman are shown discussing the test ban treaty in 1963. Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.) warns of the dangers of inadequate underground testing and inspection safeguards.

Republicans' 1964 Platform Deserves a Careful Rereading

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The Republican platform of 1964 should be reread in the light of developments at home and abroad in the past two years.

Such a reading destroys the glib argument of Democrats, liberal writers and some "enlightened Republicans" that the GOP National Convention took a twilight excursion into the past and came up with a platform that was out of touch with "these changing times."

The record shows that the convention delegates looked far into the future, read the danger signs correctly and made sound recommendations for dealing with the problems which now afflict the Johnson Administration.

It can be proved that the Republicans gave an honest appraisal. Where the Democrats painted a brilliant picture of easy living and government-engineered Utopia, the Republicans dealt with hard problems and recommended stringent answers.

Let's take a few outstanding examples:

On Viet Nam, the Republican platform urged a policy of victory and charged the Democrats with "increasing aggression from the north by appearing to fix limits on its willingness" to act and to win. It complained that our fighting men in Viet Nam were being denied adequate weapons because of faulty Pentagon planning.

Today the war is still limited while the Administration tries to keep both "doves" and "hawks" happy until after the next election. Shortages of bombs, ammunition and personnel are taking on scandalous proportions. We have even been forced to buy back bombs at $21 each which we sold to West Germany for $1.70.

On inflation, the platform charged the Administration with having "little concern for the acute problems created for the poor by inflation." It called attention to increasing consumer prices, warned against deficit financing, called for a $5-billion cut in government spending and pledged a return to balanced federal budgets, payments on the national debt and other time-proven measures of fiscal responsibility.

Today, government spending is completely out of hand, inflation is biting deeper into the purchasing power of the dollar, the President is talking of a possible increase in income taxes and wage and price controls have become a distinct possibility.

On NATO, the GOP warned that this shield against Communist aggression in Europe was "deteriorating alarmingly." It called for "revitalization" of the Atlantic alliance and proposed establishment of an international commission "to explore and recommend effective new ways to strengthen alliance participation and performance."

NATO today is in danger of collapsing, primarily because the Administration allowed a bad situation to become worse. With an almost monumental indifference, the Administration junked its ill-conceived multilateral nuclear force idea and never made another approach to the nuclear-control problem that plagues our Western European allies.

On the "Great Society," the platform charged the Democrats with extravagant campaign promises it couldn't fulfill to play on "the just aspirations of the minority groups." It accused the Democrats of "encouraging disorderly and lawless elements and ineffectually administering the laws."

Today the "War on Poverty" has produced an army of dissatisfied Americans asking what their government will do for them. Rioting and looting in major cities have increased. The rate of vicious crimes on the streets has risen. The Administration still talks big about a "Great Society," but ignores a virtual state of anarchy which exists in many sections of the country.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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BOO-BOO—When Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.) recently sent a letter to the Treasury Department seeking information he received a note back. Attached to the note was a form used strictly for internal Treasury use. It said, "You'll note we have purposely not answered the question except in a very indirect way."

ACLU's 'Vigilance Fund'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The recent annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union is filled with derisive references to its critics, who seem mostly to be "vigilante committees." As ever, the ACLU finds that our civil liberties are in dire danger.

It's true that the ACLU, by its own account, has been able to blast open a lot of bastions of national strength that once were thought fairly secure; in fact, the ACLU says it has been so successful that there seems to be a reaction against its success, and civil liberties are in more perilous danger yet.

Part of the problem is the ACLU's concept of a so-called "open society," in which everything goes. This is in contrast with the traditional view of the nation as the "ship of state," in which the seams are expected to be well caulked and tight. When the vessel is shipshape, it's free to go where it chooses. But when the seams are open, it wallows with a lot of bilge.

One reason for the bilge is that the ACLU is busy defending people who are caught putting an auger through the planks of the hold.

Fully a third of the cases listed in the ACLU's expense sheet are concerned with defending the legal "rights" of Communists or communism. Now of course this does not mean that the ACLU is itself Communist. It is not. As an organization, it is simply obsessed—fanatically obsessed—as others are obsessed with vegetable diets, yogurt, wheat germ, or the fluoridation of public water supplies.

The ACLU's particular extremism goes to an irrational concept of "liberty" that never existed and ought not to exist in a society that puts some value on order. And one manifestation of this obsession lies in the ACLU's giddy determination to aid members of a conspiracy whose first purpose, if they ever succeeded, would be to stifle the civil liberties of us all.

The ACLU's inability to distinguish between the merely unpopular and the ominously subversive quite naturally has aroused some hostility to its program, as admirable as some of it is. But perhaps another factor that arouses antagonism is the ACLU's own intolerance and prejudice against those who do not share its minority views on social organization.

The ACLU labels its opponents "vigilantes," but it supports its own activities from something it proudly calls a "Vigilance Fund." Hypocrisy of this sort may explain why the activities of the ACLU do not always suit others to a T.

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SOMEDAY SOON—"The trouble with taking the silver out of coins is that someday a copper dime might not be worth a wooden nickel."—By Nathan Nielsen in the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*.

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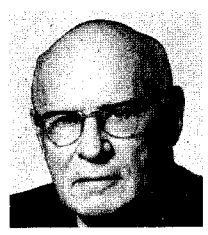
CAPITOL CAMERA

• The Los Angeles *Times*, the most influential newspaper in Southern California, has been knifing conservative candidate for governor Ronald Reagan. The *Times* recently refused to run two pro-Reagan articles by columnist William F. Buckley Jr., and then refused to print anti-Christopher articles by columnist Drew Pearson. Christopher, the former mayor of San Francisco, is Reagan's chief opponent in the GOP primary.

REAGAN

• *Soviet build-up in Cuba? Former Cuban Ambassador Dr. Guillermo Belt says highly reliable Cuban refugees say that a large Russian colony, complete with wives and children of "thousands of new Soviet troops," is being established in Cuba.*

• Looking desperately for a way in which to find LBJ's "fair housing" proposal constitutional, Administration spokesmen were much cheered last week by the startling decision rendered by California's Supreme Court—the most liberal state court in the country. These judges, by a 5-to-2 margin, declared unconstitutional a law passed by the state's voters which, in effect, said that a man's private home is his castle and that he could sell it to whomever he wished for whatever reason. According to the justices, this permitted racial discrimination and, therefore, by some strange reasoning, was a violation of the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment. The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), is particularly pleased with the decision and will try to sell LBJ's national "fair housing" law on the grounds used by California.



CELLER

• *The New York* Times *apparently has no qualms about misleading its readers as to the facts. Recently the* Times *blew up into a front-page story a hand-out conveying the impression that hundreds of Chinese "experts" in America were for admitting Red China into the United Nations. Many of the "experts" turned out to be biologists, chemists, high school teachers and the like. Last week the* Times, *taking aim at South Africa, ran this headline over an AP story: "South Africa Sentences Apartheid Foe to Life." South Africa, the story actually revealed, had not sentenced Abram Fischer, the apartheid foe, because he opposed apartheid, but because he was a member of the Communist party (which Fischer admitted) and because he conspired to commit sabotage against the South African government.*

• Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, struck down two pet Administration measures last week. First, he flatly refused to act upon the Administration's bill to expand East-West trade by lowering tariffs on goods imported from Communist countries (including the Soviet Union); then he shelved LBJ's proposed "federal minimum standards" for state benefit payments to the jobless. This was considered the heart of the Administration bill to reform the unemployment compensation system. Unfortunately, Mills' anti-Red-trade stance will prove only partially effective, for as the front-page story points out, the Administration is broadening trade with Communist countries without congressional approval.

MILLS

• *Young Americans for Freedom (1221 Mass. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.) has come out with a new 55-page booklet on the left-tilting National Students Association. Replete with detailed documentation of NSA's radicalism, the report (price $2) is considered the most authoritative and up-to-date study of NSA in existence.*

This Week in Washington

Our Soft on China Policy

Protestations to the contrary, influential policy-makers are behind the big push in this country to get the United States to ease its opposition to Communist China. For some time, as *Human Events* has reported, the State Department has subtly been plotting a course of relaxing restrictions against Mao's mainland nation. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, for example, recently indicated the Administration stood ready to supply foodstuffs to Red China. Just last month, the department compromised any "hard line" policy by encouraging a Western European consortium to sell Red China a steel mill. (For full story, see page 4 of the April 2 and April 23 issues of *Human Events.*)

Last week the Administration showed even more startling signs that it is ready to embrace an "appease Red China" stance. Causing much discussion in diplomatic circles was the fact that both Secretary of State Rusk and Vice President Hubert Humphrey suddenly found themselves enthralled with a provocative plan put forth by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) to have the Administration set up a high-level commission to reassess America's policy toward Red China.

Humphrey, the papers reported, regards the extraordinary proposal as excellent. Rusk found the idea "intriguing" and has already said the Administration is planning—along lines suggested by Kennedy—to set up an advisory board of scholars and businessmen outside the government to counsel the State Department on the Far East.

What has particularly astounded some policymakers about the Rusk-Humphrey welcome of the Kennedy plan is the fact that Kennedy made little effort to hide the true purpose of his proposed commission. Far from suggesting that such a board be composed of unbiased experts, the junior senator from Massachussets indicated that any commission should be nothing more than a megaphone for his own peculiar notions on how to deal with Red China.

The commission, said Kennedy, should "make suggestions on how to increase informal and formal governmental contacts with Communist China"; it should "advise on how to increase scientific, education, cultural, athletic and tourist contacts with Communist China."

A matter that should receive the commission's "highest priority," stressed Kennedy, is a "system of representation" for Communist China in the United Nations. The commission, Kennedy declared, "would reassess our present embargo on all trade with Communist China, to see whether a limited trading relationship could be established. . . . It is obvious that our trade embargo has, in recent years, been effective only as a symbol of hostility."

These are the policies any commission, said Kennedy, should recommend. Nevertheless, Rusk and Humphrey have enthusiastically embraced the Kennedy proposal.

How, it is being asked, can the American people and our allies, like the free Vietnamese, believe the Administration is determined to prevent Red China's expansion if it endorses the proposals of the appeasers?

An 'Old China Hand'

Discredited Chinese "scholars" are still trying to pull the strings on our China policy. Unknown to the American public is that Harvard Prof. John K. Fairbank, who formerly orbited around the left-leaning Institute of Pacific Relations, has become a central figure in the drive described above to ease American opposition to Communist China.

As a close associate of the IPR in the '40s and '50s, Fairbank promoted the cause of the Communists in Red China. Now, once again, he is lending his efforts to a number of activities designed to appease Mao.

Fairbank has tried to propagate his "soft" views before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has signed petitions opposing a hard line toward the mainland and has helped with the speeches of such "soft-on-Red China" senators as George McGovern (D.-S.D.), who recently called for trade with Communist China.

Fairbank is also a leading figure in the Americans for Reappraisal of Far Eastern Policy (ARFEP), headquartered at Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Accompanying Fairbank on ARFEP's National Committee are such leading Socialists as Michael Harrington and Norman Thomas.

Organized in October 1965, the ARFEP has rapidly become a primary propaganda organ of the liberal-left view on China and now has chapters on over 24 campuses—including Yale, Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley. It has staged teach-ins, circulated petitions, organized committees and distributed literature to promote its position. Currently, ARFEP is moving off the campuses and into the communities.

The organization clearly indicates in a brochure that the United States should negotiate "towards the diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China"; should announce its readiness to admit Red China "to the United Nations and other international bodies" and put an end to "special restrictions on trade."

The Fairbank influence in ARFEP is pervasive. Fairbank, as noted, is on the National Committee. A publication of the ARFEP, *China Survey*, which pushes a soft line, is edited by Andrew Nathan, a graduate student at Harvard and a protege of Fairbank. Fairbank is also said to be looked upon as a guiding light by other ARFEP members. A chapter of the group at the University of Wisconsin is selling for $5 a one-hour tape in which Fairbank and three other liberals expound their views on China.

But Fairbank is not the only discredited "scholar" who is shaping ARFEP's policies. A frequent speaker at ARFEP functions is Owen Lattimore, the controversial professor on the Far East who was a leading apologist for the Soviet Union and Communist China in the 1940s. Lattimore appears with Fairbank on the tape sold by the Wisconsin ARFEP.

Such groups may not appear particularly powerful on the surface, but what alarms diplomatic experts in Washington is that the Administration appears to be edging closer and closer to policy positions propounded by radical organizations like the ARFEP.

Rent Subsidy Sellout

The battle over the Administration's controversial and costly rent subsidy scheme is not quite over, in spite of last week's congressional action. Congress approved $12 million for the program for fiscal 1966 (ending June 30), but the $22 million appropriated by the House for fiscal 1967 is not yet home free.

The Senate still has to vote on the $22 million and there are some faint signs that the lawmakers may block any further appropriations—even though a chief enemy of the scheme, GOP leader Everett Dirksen, is temporarily out of action with a fractured thigh bone.

Rent subsidy foes are pinning their hopes for victory on the fact that earlier this session the Senate passed the $12-million bill by just one slim vote—46 to 45. With Rep. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), an opponent of the rent subsidy, appointed to the Senate last week to replace the late Sen. Pat McNamara, who favored the scheme, the Administration's $22-million proposal may be in trouble.

Opposition may have increased on the Senate side, moreover, because of housing chieftain Robert C. Weaver's statement reiterating his desire to see rent subsidies go to middle-income groups. In addition, many politicos are calling the entire scheme an unholy alliance between big government and some building contractors and real estate operators anxious to get their hands on federal monies.

Under the subsidy program the Federal Housing Administration will be able to guarantee federal subsidies over a 40-year period to landlords who construct new housing units. The subsidies, of course, will come from the pocketbook of the American taxpayers.

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Experts say the eventual cost of the subsidy program, if it passes, will be approximately $6 billion.

The Administration, however, is still trying to jam the plan through Congress. In the House last week, LBJ's forces squeezed out a four-vote victory for the $22-million appropriation for 1967 only after terrific pressures from White House arm-twisters, including Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien, who browbeat Democrats in congressional corridors.

Administration forces, in fact, were trailing by 14 votes at the end of the first calling of the roll in the House. When the roll was called a second time for those not answering the first round, the unofficial tabulation revealed a 192-to-192 tie. House conservatives sensed an upset in the making, but then four obedient Democrats marched to the well of the House to withdraw their votes against the subsidy scheme and vote "present."

Thus, thanks to the Democrats and six ultra-liberal Republicans who refused to go along with their party, the rent subsidy scheme passed 192 to 188. The complete rollcall appears on page 15. The four Democrats who switched their votes were: Stanley L. Greigg and Neal Smith of Iowa; Alec G. Olson of Minnesota, and Walter Rogers of Texas. The puzzling question on Capitol Hill: How much were these gentlemen of easy virtue promised for permitting the rent subsidy scheme to pass?

New Michigan Senator

Conservatives are happy with Gov. George Romney's selection of Rep. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) to fill the Senate seat recently left vacant by the death of Pat McNamara. The conservatively oriented Griffin, if he wins the GOP primary as expected, will square off in November with either former Michigan Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams or Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh.

But no matter who wins the Democratic primary, Griffin will oppose a far-out liberal in the general election.

"Soapy" is known for his strong Socialistic views and is credited with running the Wolverine State into bankruptcy during his terms as governor. As an assistant secretary of state, he was a strong supporter of black nationalist movements in Africa.

Cavanagh, however, is hardly more moderate. A super-liberal on domestic matters, he is now pitching his campaign to the tune of the peace forces in this country. Cavanagh's views on Viet Nam, for instance, were recently highlighted in the May 1 *Worker*, chief organ of the American Communist party.

He vehemently opposes a hard-line policy in Viet Nam and has recommended that Red China not only be admitted to the United Nations, but be given a permanent seat on the Security Council.

Regarding Viet Nam, Cavanagh says the United States should "search for a new way out" of the war in order, he suggests, to complete the "Great Society" at home. He has criticized the Johnson policy in this fashion: "How," he asks, "can you bring peace while making war? How can you lift up the economy of a developing nation while tearing it down? How can you encourage democracy while reinforcing a military dictatorship?"

LBJ Causes Poverty

Rep. Polanco-Abreu, the non-voting Puerto Rican representative in Congress, has made a special plea against the Administration's minimum wage bill which will probably be taken up by the House this week. The Administration measure would raise the federal minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.40 an hour next February 1 and to $1.60 a year later. It would also extend coverage to more than 7.2 million persons, including some farm workers.

Polanco-Abreu claims that "exhaustive studies" of the bill show that its impact on the Puerto Rican economy would be "disastrous."

Despite its beneficial aims, he states, the bill "will seriously, senselessly, and without recourse injure Puerto Rican businesses and employes, and will strike the Operation Bootstrap economic development program a severe blow."

The minimum wage bill, as drafted, would severely harm the worker, says Polanco-Abreu. Eleven per cent of Puerto Rico's labor force is unemployed, nearly three times the national average, and an additional 24 per cent is underemployed with less than 35 hours of work per week. Establishing a higher minimum, says Polanco-Abreu, would only increase unemployment.

Similar pleas have been made by many U.S. congressmen, but the "Great Society" architects do not seem to be listening.

Powell Kills Poverty Amendments

Taking their orders from Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), Democratic members of the House Education and Labor Committee last week rejected every Republican attempt to improve the scandal-wracked anti-poverty program. Meeting behind closed doors in executive session, the Democrats rejected on straight party-line votes the following proposals:

• Careful procedures for evaluation of Job Corps enrollees to identify youths with criminal records and insure adequate provisions to cope with their problems in Job Corps camps without major disturbance.

• Limitation of salaries of Job Corps staffers to no more than a 20 per cent increase over their previous salaries without specific approval of the director, Sargent Shriver.

• Authority to Job Corps camp directors to enforce standards of conduct and deportment with disciplinary powers, including the power to dismiss enrollees when necessary to preserve the opportunities for others.

Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), who has directed the GOP investigation of the poverty program, charged committee Democrats with abdication of responsibility in refusing even to consider Republican proposals to improve Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity. Goodell said:

"As chairman Powell cracked the whip, Democrats on the committee obediently shouted down all Republican amendments to correct present abuses in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. Not a single voice was raised in closed door committee meetings to deny that both programs have serious and continuing deficiencies; yet Democrats goose-stepped away from any substantial changes."

Unilateral Disarmament

The spectre of unilateral disarmament continues to haunt the Pentagon as a result of these recent decisions by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara:

• McNamara informed the public in a report released last week that the nation's airborne alert system, which keeps an undisclosed number of B-52 bombers in the air, is being sharply curtailed. The 680 bombers now in the Strategic Air Command are to be reduced to 465 over the next five years. Military experts say the defense secretary's move will strike a devastating blow against one of America's best defense systems. The Soviets and the Red Chinese, it is claimed, have been deterred in their aggressions largely because of the airborne alert system. The more planes on alert, it is said, the more planes can be put into the air at the time of a surprise attack. But McNamara insists on phasing out this unique part of America's defenses.

• Reports emanating from inside the Pentagon say that McNamara has no intention of spending money to help initiate production of an anti-ballistic missile system, although Congress now appears on the verge of appropriating funds for such a project. The defense secretary, it is noted, has long fought against any development of an ABM system despite intelligence reports that reveal the Soviets have already deployed advanced defensive missiles.

• As discussed by Holmes Alexander on page 3, Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.), a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, has disclosed that the Administration is cutting back on its underground nuclear testing program, in spite of promises to the contrary.

• *Less than 3 per cent of Philadelphia's estimated 500,000 eligible voters turned out last year to take part in the city's poverty election, first of its type in the nation. Last week the Office of Economic Opportunity announced a grant of $36,468 to finance another election, provided Philadelphia's anti-poverty agency puts up the same amount in the form of volunteer services. The group rejected the funds, saying it did not approve of the "strings" attached by Washington.*

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) continues to call for "soft" policies toward Communist countries. Last week he endorsed Ted Kennedy's (D.-Mass.) proposal to have the Administration establish a commission which would recommend methods by which the American government could appease Red China. (See lead story.) Mansfield also proposed that the United States recognize Outer Mongolia, a Soviet-controlled country which sent troops into Hungary in 1956 for the purpose of crushing the anti-Communist rebellion there.

MANSFIELD

• *The Soviet Union has launched a hard-sell campaign for American tourists (who can provide badly needed Yankee dollars). The Reds recently christened an $8-million ocean liner, the S. S. Pushkin, to bring tourists from North America and hope to soon initiate a Moscow-New York air run. But Rep. Silvio Conte (R.-Mass.) warns that "American tourists should forget about visiting the Soviet Union until such time as that government can provide better evidence of their intent to protect and deal fairly with foreign nationals within their borders." He refers to the case of Newcomb Mott, the 27-year-old traveler who was arrested by Soviet authorities on trumped-up charges, then died a mysterious death.*

• Politicos view the recent Texas Democratic primary as a boost for Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) in his bid for re-election. Demos revealed they aren't particularly pleased with Tower's opponent, Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, as they gave Carr's relatively unknown primary opponent a big 20 per cent of the vote. Many are saying this 20 per cent will either stay home or vote for Tower in the general election in November.

TOWER

• *Members of a Republican task force in the House of Representatives sent Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman a letter calling for more consideration of the financial plight of farmers. On May 11 all 40 congressmen got a reply. It was in the form of 40 telegrams, each telegram running 730 words. Upon inquiry, Western Union said the telegraph bill was $2,400!*

• Communist radios around the globe are giving widespread coverage to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright's latest attacks on American foreign policy. Radio Havana is typical: "Sen. Fulbright warned in Washington that the United States is becoming the victim of power-drunk arrogance, and he said that those who protest against the Vietnamese war merit respect and sympathy. Fulbright, who is the chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that his nation's youth in condemning the U.S. aggression in Viet Nam are among the best historical company."

FULBRIGHT

• *Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R.-Mich.) has obtained from the Department of Defense an admission that it peddled phony statistics designed to minimize free world trade with North Viet Nam. The department previously claimed that only 21 allied ships entered North Vietnamese ports during the last quarter of 1965. Now it concedes the accurate figure is 44. It previously claimed the figure for the first quarter of '66 was 16 allied ships. Now, the department admits, the accurate total is 36. "The American people have been greatly disturbed by reports of this trade even when told less than half the truth about it," says Chamberlain. "Our efforts to win the struggle in South Viet Nam cannot be aided here at home by the official dispensing of misinformation which is designed not to protect our security but to cover up ineffective policies."*

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U Thant Is Already Celebrating

Does the U.N. Deserve a 21st Birthday Party?

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

We are approaching the June day when the United Nations will be 21 years of age. By tradition, this is when a man reaches legal adulthood and any organization which has been around this long should be able to point with pride to its record.

Recently, the U.N. secretary general, U Thant, appeared before the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France. This body was founded in 1949 to facilitate economic and social progress.

Mr. U Thant in his appearance before them was a negative figure representing a negative organization. He uttered dire warnings and prophecies and made demands that everybody in the West devote his efforts to improving world conditions. If we don't do something, he warned, we'll be pushed into a third world war.

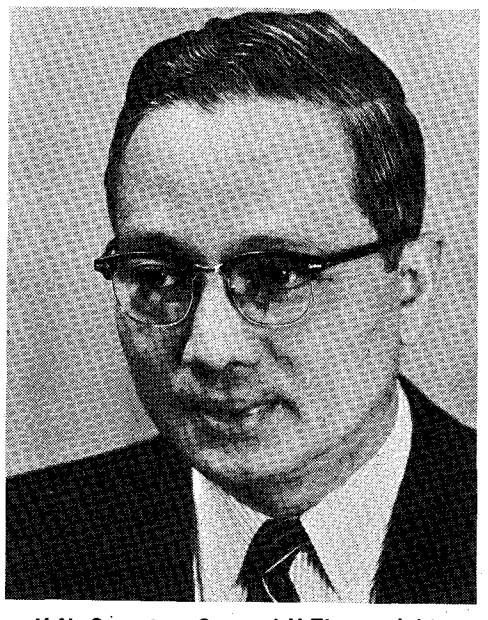
Now, foreign ministers are used to being cajoled, warned and threatened by their peers and, frankly, all these dreary speeches of diplomats might better be written on water instead of being typed for dissemination to the world. Diplomats increasingly appear to be talking for their own amazement. Their words generally have all the force and impact of a 10-cent water pistol.

Nevertheless, the 17 delegates from as many nations who heard Mr. U Thant applauded him warmly.

What I want to know is, why?

Why should U Thant rate applause for his Cassandra-like speeches; for his warnings that European nations face "calamitous" consequences if the gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world widens? I agree that it is high time Europe took on more of the responsibility for peace and order and stability in the world and let the United States have a breathing spell. If Mr. U Thant was needling the Europeans, more power to him.

However, I suspect that we shall hear this same speech with some adjustments for American consumption soon after U Thant's return. All this high-powered diplomatic jargon can be re-jiggered to suit virtually any purpose in any country any time.



U.N. Secretary General U Thant might consider giving some advice to his fellow Buddhists in Viet Nam.

The United Nations, approaching its anniversary, getting ready to light 21 candles on its birthday cake, is less effective today than when it was younger. It was a promising baby which has grown up to be a bully and a bore.

While its secretary general calls on people to "do something" to prevent World War III, it is entirely proper to answer him by asking a question: What is the United Nations for? What is it doing to earn its keep to prevent World War III? What has it done in its 21 years to prevent the continued Communist aggression in Asia, the attempted subversion of Africa? When does it propose to recognize the rights of all the people in the captive nations in Europe, the victims of Nazi persecution first and Soviet take-over later?

Just because there is no shooting in the streets for the moment, no Red tanks running down young Hungarians and other patriots passionately pitting their heroic desire for freedom against the cruel strength of their tyrannical overlords, does not mean all people in the satellite countries are happy to be minions of the Kremlin.

Who has heard Mr. U Thant make a speech in Europe about the terrible Berlin Wall, obscene and inhumane, the wall that is the shooting gallery where the East Germans practice their marksmanship on braver countrymen risking their lives to be free?

The billions that have been poured into the United Nations have not made the world safe for democracy or even safe for plain living. The head of the world's leading organization in his latest talks is merely confessing the failure of his expensive organization.

Perhaps instead of calling on the Western nations to "do something" U Thant, who is a Buddhist, might better serve the cause of peace by addressing himself to his fellow Buddhists in Viet Nam. For it is now thoroughly clear that it is the political Buddhists there, the young, power-hungry saffron-robed clique, not the venerable ancient priests in the pagodas, who are the inciters to riot, dissension, disorder and chaos in Viet Nam. They are the men who are prolonging the war. They are the aggressors against the peace.

Would not U Thant's services and talents be better employed in speaking in an Asian tongue, with an Asian mentality, to other Asians instead of scolding the Western nations?

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The Mandarins Are at It Again

New attacks on local control of education

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Last January a regional conference was held by the National Education Association at which its educational policies commission chairman complained that the job of teaching youngsters to think cannot be accomplished if the schools continue to be subject to local control.

You think I'm kidding?

His name is James E. Russell. The Spokane newspapers quoted him as saying with a perfectly straight face that this country is suffering from the outmoded concept that the effectiveness of any educational program can be measured in terms of its impact on human behavior.

"This condition exists," continued Big Brother Russell, "because the conduct of education in this country is dominated by the populace which sets the main goals."

How true. It's a downright shame, when you come to think about it, that public education should be dominated by the public. And that outmoded old chestnut about measuring the effects of schooling by its impact on human behavior! Pooh, pooh. And 23 skiddoo!

Everybody knows that our great educational hierarchies don't want educational effectiveness measured at all. To do so opens all sorts of horrid doors, from comparative achievement rates in different schools to merit rating for individual teachers. Chaos thrice confounded! It's much safer, after all, to talk about educational goals in purely subjective terms which don't lend themselves to any kind of objective measurement.

How do we measure the success of "group dynamics"? Or democratic socializing with one's peer group? Or plain old togetherness, for that matter?

Answer: We don't. And that's what we like about them.

Whereas such high-button-shoe educational items as spelling and the multiplication tables and history and geography lend themselves very easily and readily to simple achievement testing, thank you, and thus enable the uninitiated lay public to figure out how well or how poorly certain of us are teaching these things as compared to certain others of us. And that's what we don't like about *them*.

If we educationists could just connive or cajole or coerce old John Q. Public into changing his stubborn ideas about the primary of measurable mastery of subject matter in determining educational goals, then the great hierarchies with their trailing clouds of well-paid executive secretaries, consultants and press agents could sleep much more soundly of nights. But old John persists in his benighted ways, so the only thing left to do is to turf him out of the school picture altogether.

I really think we owe Mr. Russell a vote of thanks. A condemned man always deserves a word of warning from the warden as to the date and hour set for the execution. And when the banker is getting ready to foreclose the mortgage on the old homestead and boot me out into the snow, I appreciate the 24-hour notice so I can don my thermal underwear in preparation for life in the great out-of-doors.

So it is that Mr. Russell has done us a favor. He has put us on notice that the bell we hear is tolling for you-know-whom. The process of ejecting the American people from their own school system is, of course, already far advanced. Ask any local school board member who has served a long term if he had more or less say over school policy 15 years ago than he has today.

I'll bet $5, sight unseen, that he tells you the rights and powers of local school boards have been so cramped and cribbed and circumscribed that today they are markedly and frighteningly fewer than they were a decade and a half ago.

The Establishment is always opposed to local control, whether that Establishment be educational or political, reactionary or radical, Communist or Fascist. It wants more boards and commissions, more appointive officials, fewer elected ones. It bends its every effort toward removing itself from a position of accountability to anyone on God's earth except itself. It's the closest thing in nature to perpetual motion—self-energizing, self-evaluating, self-reproducing.

One slight exception. It can always be induced to let the general public do one important thing: foot the bills.

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'Certificates of Participation': LBJ's New Shell Game

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The slickest skin-game of the old county fairs, at least in the gullible South, was the skin-game known as the old shell game. It flourished for years until some educated cops came along. They put the thimbleriggers on the run and the shell game all but disappeared.

Recently it came back to town. You will find it, if you look fast enough, in H.R. 14544, which came shooting out of the House Banking and Currency Committee like a little green pea under three walnut shells. This is the President's sensational gimmick for turning $4.2 billion in federal assets into $4.2 billion in federal liabilities, all without adding a penny to the federal deficit. Or liabilities into assets. It is all the same thing. Come one, come all, and try our skill! The hand in truth is quicker than the eye.

Mr. Johnson sketched the general outlines of his "Sales Participation Act of 1966" back in January, but it wasn't until Wednesday, April 20, that the bill turned up in the House. Then presto! On Thursday the 21st, with the ink still wet on the printed bill, Congressman Wright Patman scheduled three hours of hearings. Only Administration witnesses were called. By a party-line vote of 22-3, with eight disgusted Republicans not voting, the bill came bombing out. A classic committee report followed on Monday the 25th. And last week the White House was proceeding *in terrorem* to get the bill whipped through the Rules Committee for an immediate vote on the floor.

The situation has its funny aspects, which is doubtless part of the game.

On the surface, this is a financing scheme by which the government would "sell off some assets."

But the trick is that no assets would really be sold off.

The committee's majority report declares, deadpan, that the plan would "carry forward the objective of substituting private for public credit in funding the loan programs" of various federal agencies. But by its own terms, the bill provides for continued federal subsidies to make the private creditors secure.

The sponsors of this legislation are shouting from the housetops that this "participation" plan is truly nothing new—that it is in fact an old plan, devised by Mr. Eisenhower in 1959. But when Mr. Eisenhower undertook to sell off some federal loans, he sold them off in straightforward transactions. Mr. Johnson's dazzling runaround is something else entirely.

Under terms of this legislation, the Federal National Mortgage Association, as trustee, would sell certificates of participation in "pools of assets" to be provided from the outstanding loans of various federal agencies. Up to $4.2 billion in such certificates could be sold, provided the market would absorb them, and why shouldn't the market absorb them? These handsome instruments would cost the taxpayers a rate of 5.4 or 5.5 per cent, at least half a point higher than the rate on regular treasury borrowings.

As the outraged Republicans point out in their minority report, this one-half per cent represents an expense of $5 million a year on each $1 billion of participations sold. If the entire authority were exercised, the cost to the people would approximate $21 million a year. Over an average maturity of 10 years, these higher outlays for interest would amount to something in excess of $200 million.

Yet the cost of this scheme is the least of the objections to it. The purpose of this legislation is not to promote private credit. The purpose is to conceal a $4.2-billion deficit by entering the certificate sales as a "negative expenditure." Where has the deficit gone? It lies under the third shell on the left. If this maneuver works for 1967, we may never set eyes on a deficit again, for federal agencies have $33 billion in such assets to slide in Fannie May's direction.

By the same token, as the Republicans remark, the federal debt limit can be subjected to hocus-pocus-dominocus. Now you see it, now you don't. If the proceeds of these participations are applied on paper to debt reduction, the government's total debt will not have been reduced in fact. The debt will simply have been transferred to the debt of FNMA, which is outside the statutory limit. In the course of this vanishing act, government credit would be used, if indirectly, to effect a reduction in the federal debt. This isn't done with dollars; it's done with mirrors.

There were signs recently the Administration's razzle-dazzle might prove to be self-defeating. Missouri's influential Richard Bolling, a key man on House Rules, was balking hard. He describes the scheme flatly as "deceptive." Without a lot of sober persuasion, he won't be won around. The dissenting Republicans—Widnall, Fino, Dwyer, Halpern, Harvey, Brock, Talcott, Clawson, Johnson, Stanton and Mize—are so burned up at Patman's railroad tactics that they are throwing some real energy into a fight against the bill.

The Administration's top persuaders have been summoned to the battle. With the President's prestige at stake, they may win in the end, but their problem is that members of the House and Senate stand a cut above the rubes of the county midway. Some of the old hands on the Hill have run a few shell games themselves.

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EXPLAINED AT LAST—The Budget Bureau says that the federal government owns 98 per cent of the land area in Alaska and 52 per cent in Oregon. At last we have an explanation for Senators Gruening and Morse.—From the Richmond *News Leader*

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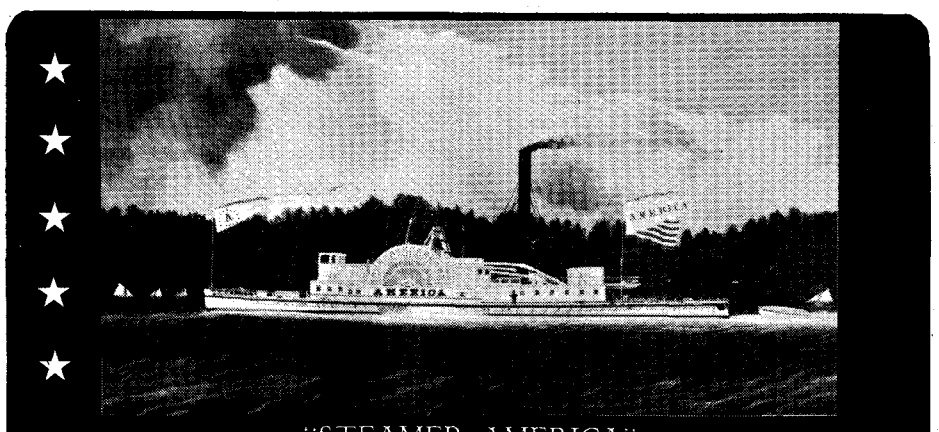

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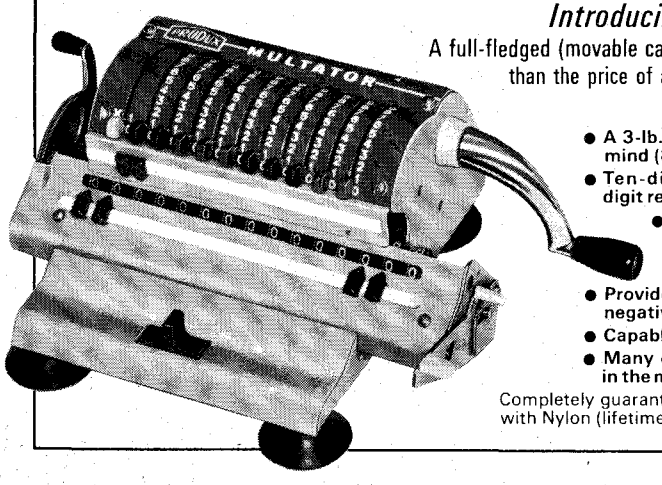

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Behind the NATO Controversy

Does DeGaulle Plan Total Withdrawal from Atlantic Alliance?

By JACQUES SOUSTELLE

(Jacques Soustelle, who was largely responsible for de Gaulle's return to power in 1958, broke with the French president two years later. After a warrant for his arrest on charges of "endangering the authority of the state" was issued, Soustelle went into exile. His present whereabouts is unknown except to a handful of confidants. The following article—an analysis of de Gaulle's real intentions behind his announcement to quit NATO militarily—was obtained through one of Soustelle's friends.)

Somewhere in Europe, April 30:—On March 7, 1966, Gen. de Gaulle finally took the step for which he had waited eight years: He withdrew France from the NATO military organization, and virtually from the Atlantic alliance itself.

He had, as usual, taken this momentous decision alone. No member of the government, not even its nominal head, Prime Minister Georges Pompidou, had been consulted. The rubber-stamp National Assembly was not in session; it seldom is, and always says "yes" anyway. No king, no emperor, in the whole history of France, has ever held such dictatorial power over the destinies of the nation as de Gaulle.

A few days after the announcement French Communist boss Etienne Fajon declared that the French Communists would vote against the democratic opposition parties in the house, and for the Gaullist government during parliamentary debate on the subject. Moreover, Waldeck Rochet, secretary-general of the French Communist party, as he addressed the recent Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow, was interrupted twice by enthusiastic and "spontaneous" applause when he mentioned de Gaulle's name.

Visit to Russia

The general will pay a three-week state visit to the USSR in June, and no doubt will be given the "red carpet" treatment. Both the Soviet and the Gaullist propaganda machines will do their utmost to give the world an idyllic show of Franco-Russian friendship—for "peace," of course, and against the "war-mongering" U.S. imperialists.

De Gaulle's aim in his March 7 message to Washington and the other Allied capitals was two-fold. He wished, on one hand, to maneuver himself into the position of a world-scale neutralist leader.

He visualizes himself as the head of a "third force," mainly made up of African and Asian states, since European nations—first of all, Germany—clearly refuse to accept his leadership. In order to achieve that aim, he had to break as openly as possible with the United States before his trip to Russia.

On the other hand, one must not forget that the French president is an astute politician and vote-getter, and that considerations of electoral politics are never far from his mind. After his difficult re-election last December, he is understandably concerned about the parliamentary election scheduled for March next year, because that election might very well overthrow the monolithic majority of Gaullist yes-men.

An opposition-minded parliament could make things very tough indeed for him. To avoid such a threat to his regime, de Gaulle obviously decided that, since he already gets the main part of the rightist vote, as last December's returns show, he must court the left. But which left? The moderate, Democratic left is solidly against his policy: He must, therefore, swing the Communist vote, or at least part of it. The safe way to get it is to appeal to the Communists' rabid anti-Americanism and to come back from Moscow with the Kremlin's blessings.

De Gaulle, by expelling the Americans from France so brutally and by breaking the ties which linked our country to the United States, manages to kill two birds with one stone.

De Gaulle, as I have some reason to know, is supremely apt at hiding his real intentions and biding his time. His sensational decision came when he found it necessary and opportune, because he had to prepare for the next election and because he thinks, rightly or wrongly, that America, with the Viet Nam war on her hands, is too heavily burdened to react seriously.

When he declared six years ago in Washington, "America plays a capital part in our time. Every nation in its turn has had the privilege of leading the world; today it is the turn of the United States," nobody among the high American officials who listened to him, or the American throngs who cheered him, could guess that the very same man would unceremoniously boot his cherished allies from his territory.

He began, as always, by disclosing his plans little by little. In 1963, he refused to accept Polaris rockets offered him by President Kennedy; and, for the first time, in July, publicly stated that "France should be independent from America." This implied, of course, that France was in some way submitted to undue influence, or even domination, by the United States.

French President Charles de Gaulle plans a three-week state visit to the USSR in June.

Careful Phrasing

In January 1964, he officially established diplomatic links with Red China (which he had previously denounced as a power-mad, dangerously ambitious nation), and began advocating the so-called neutralization, or rather communization, of Viet Nam.

Last year was a perfect festival of anti-American utterances and gestures, attacks against the U.S. dollar, denunciation of the "American protectorate over Europe," a holier-than-thou attitude about Viet Nam and Santo Domingo, refusal to cooperate with America within SEATO, and so on.

During these years the state-owned and state-controlled radio and TV networks gradually increased the tempo of their anti-U.S. propaganda. For months and months Viet Cong and Red Chinese pictures were shown on French TV screens; an endless flow of distorted news, hostile comments and plain hatred have been fed to the French public. After such a "softening up," de Gaulle's last move had become easier to accept—at least passively—by the population, while many opponents are cowed by the fear of being branded as "American agents" by Communists and Gaullists alike.

In de Gaulle's message to President Johnson on March 7, there is a paragraph which should be read with the utmost care. As is de Gaulle's custom, while delivering the blow, he tries to lessen its impact; he therefore points out that France, although withdrawing from the military organization of NATO, wishes to remain a member of the alliance. But—and this is an all-important "but"—he qualifies that statement by adding that France would fight in 1969 or later on the side of her allies "if one of them was submitted to an unprovoked aggression," except if "the basic data of the relationship between East and West" had been altered during the next three years.

This means, in the first place, that in case of a conflict between any of the Allies and the Communist bloc, the question would arise whether the aggression should be considered as "unprovoked" or not.

Specifically, a war unleashed as a result of the struggle in Viet Nam could easily be construed in Paris as provoked by America, since de Gaulle has repeatedly and forcefully "condemned" the policy of the United States in that part of the world.

More ominous still is the phrase about the "relationship between East and West," and the allusion to its possible changes. Either it doesn't mean anything—and de Gaulle, of course, is not the kind of man who talks just to hear the sound of his own voice—or it clearly means that, in the course of those next three years, France, under his leadership, may become, if not an ally of the USSR, at least sufficiently friendly to the Soviets to consider that the "basic data" of that relationship have been substantially modified, and therefore to avoid fulfilling her duty as an ally towards the free world. I, for one, am well enough acquainted with de Gaulle's ways to recognize these words as a warning which should not be underestimated.

On April 3rd Minister Jeanneney, a devout Gaullist, said in a public speech that the general's decision to withdraw from NATO would prevent France from being involved in a war "which would not be her war." By that, he made it clear that he meant a war in Asia.

This theme has been plugged on and on since then by Gaullist propagandists on the radio, in the papers and at public meetings. They explained that, should a war break out between America and China, and should Russia decide to attack U.S. military bases in Europe, then France would be submitted to nuclear aggression. This, they say, is the reason why the American military establishment in France should be dismantled as soon as possible.

The fact that this argument is given such importance shows that de Gaulle's real intention is to withdraw not only from the NATO military organization but from the alliance itself. If he believes or feigns to believe that the danger for France is not to be attacked by the Communist bloc, but to be dragged into a war by America, then he must logically break all links with the West, and particularly with the United States. And that, I am sure, is what he will ultimately do.

De Gaulle's most trusted minister, the erstwhile extreme-left writer Andre Malraux, has recently paid a state visit to the Egyptian Dictator Nasser. "Egypt," he said in a widely publicized statement, "like France, is neither affiliated to communism nor to the United States." Incidentally, Gaullist delegate Pierre Pasquini announced in Cairo at the same time that "France would not take any step regarding Palestine which could be contrary to Egyptian interests," thus letting it be understood that the 20-year de facto alliance between France and Israel is doomed.

This, coupled with the ridiculously lavish praise bestowed upon Nasser by Malraux, shows which way the wind is blowing. France, according to the Gaullist scheme, would become the head of a world league of neutral states such as Egypt, Algeria, Cambodia, Mali and so on. These states claim to remain "uncommitted" to both sides. They receive weapons and money from Russia and China, and food and money from the United States. They proclaim themselves "Socialist," and there is no doubt that their sympathies incline much more to the Communist side than to the West;

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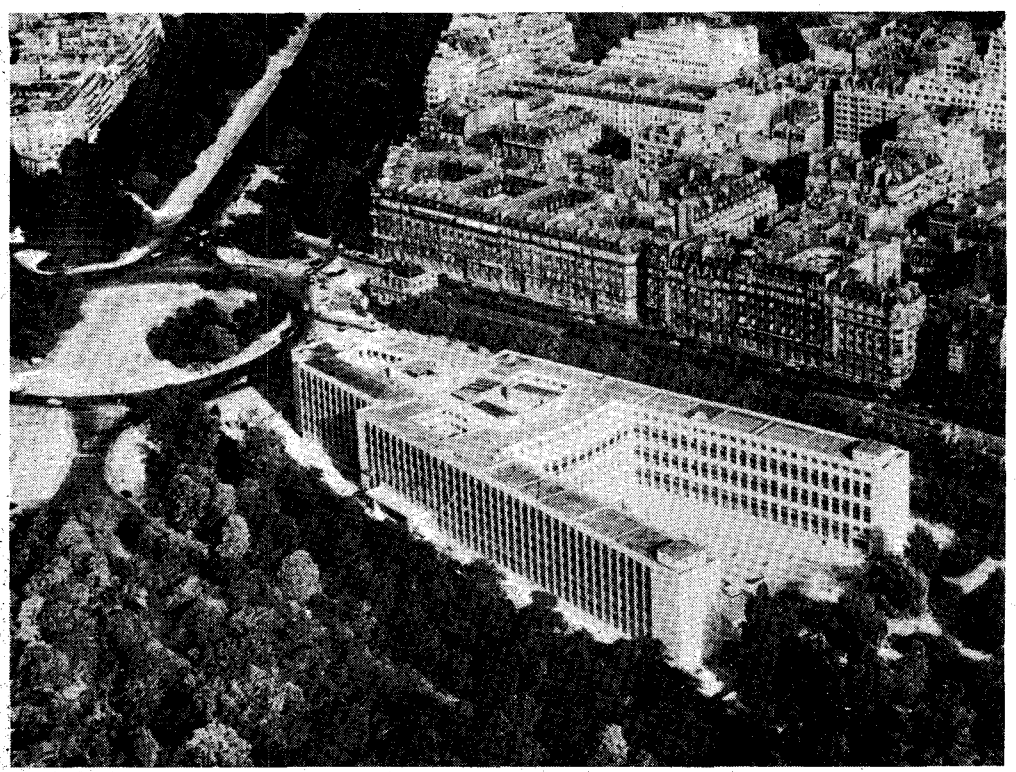

This is the Paris headquarters of the faltering North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

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some of them at least are thoroughly anti-American.

The trouble, from de Gaulle's standpoint, is that these states are economically very weak, that their military might is reduced, and, therefore, to build upon them is to build on sand. But what else remains for the leader to lead, since the European Common Market nations have declined the honor of following his banner?

De Gaulle's move hardly comes as a surprise. It was easy to foresee. Many observers, including myself, had announced it several years ago. Such a decision had become all the more unavoidable as the French president had met over the years with the failure of his pet schemes and illusions: Failure of his Algerian and North African policy, failure of his bid for hegemony in Europe behind the disguise of a Franco-German alliance, failure of his high-handed attempt at bossing his Common Market partners. At the same time, his regime —still upheld by the two pillars of the police and the propaganda—has been showing ominous signs of decay such as the all-time low of the Gaullist vote last December and the Ben Barka scandal.

The general, who is 76 years old, feels that he must quicken the pace in order to face his possible successors with a *fait accompli.*

Many Frenchmen, of whom I am one, while severely blaming de Gaulle's break with the West, do not close their eyes to the mistakes which were made on the Western side, and have helped the general to strengthen his grip on the French people.

De Gaulle finds it easier to disrupt the Western alliance because part of the French opinion was sorely disappointed, for instance, when America lined up with the Soviet Union in 1956 to prevent France, Britain and Israel from settling the war-mongering Dictator Nasser's account once and for all.

It is hard to understand why the United States, while spending huge amounts of money and even the lives of American boys to defend Europe and Asia against communism, at the same time seems content to open the gates of Africa to Red imperialism. Since President Roosevelt's time, American influence and prestige have leaned heavily on the side of those forces which tended to destroy the European nations' colonial rule, with the result that the so-called independent countries thus created have sunk into an abyss of disorder, mismanagement, corruption and poverty which makes them easy prey to communism.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the bitterness which some aspects of American policy have left in the hearts of many of my fellow countrymen, there is no doubt that the French people as a whole see with growing concern the new developments of de Gaulle's anti-Americanism.

French Opinion

Friendship with America has always been considered a cornerstone of French security. The idea of a federated Europe closely associated with America has won the enthusiastic support of large sectors, including a great part of the younger citizens. It would be unwise, therefore, to take de Gaulle's utterances at their face value when he speaks of himself as embodying France. His dictatorial, arbitrary decisions do not reflect the real feelings of the people of France, who remain deeply attached to the Western alliance.

One must not forget that de Gaulle,

Author Soustelle feels de Gaulle is very good at hiding his real intentions.

when he ran for president again last year, did not disclose his intention of breaking with our allies; he, as always, hid his plans behind a smokescreen of double-talk. Many political experts think that, had he come out in the open with his scheme, he would have been beaten.

Under the new conditions, de Gaulle plays and will play more and more openly the card of nationalism and chauvinism, if not of xenophobia.

At the end of World War II, there was a general feeling throughout the world that nationalism, which had been the mainspring of Hitler's Germany, should be curbed at all costs everywhere in order to avoid an apocalyptic disaster. Unfortunately, behind the mask of "anti-colonialism," new nationalisms have been allowed to poison the world atmosphere. Now de Gaulle's aim is to become the exponent and leader of these nationalisms. Then, by a kind of chain reaction, his own nationalism may create a danger which seemed to have been finally discarded—that is, to re-awaken old-fashioned nationalism in Germany.

His views on world policy are strictly based on power considerations ("A nation may have interests, but no friends; our Allies are also our rivals" are some of his favorite apophthegms), as those of an 18th Century potentate. The trouble is that this kind of game can be played by several players, and two World Wars have shown what its consequences may be to the whole of mankind.

While de Gaulle was dismantling the constitution of the French republic, sending his political opponents to jail or concentration camps without due process of law and generally destroying democracy in France under the pretense of establishing it in Algeria, large sectors of free world opinion let themselves be deceived. They believed in good faith that his was a progressive attitude. They did not understand that everything he did had a single aim which had nothing to do with democracy or freedom or peace; i.e., to reinforce his personal power and to become France's one and only absolute master in order to use her as a pawn on the checkerboard of world politics.

The truth is now clear enough for every man of good faith to realize that the restoration of democracy in France, and the end of de Gaulle's one-man rule are the necessary conditions for stopping a policy of narrow nationalism and reckless adventure which jeopardizes the safety of the free world and the peace.

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Congressmen Step Up Attacks on Job Corps

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield is slow to anger. But the patience of the pipe-smoking former professor is now exhausted.

Anti-poverty officials, he thinks, are turning his state into a reformatory, using Job Corps Centers as havens for hardened criminals. Three such centers have been set up in Montana, staffed by starry-eyed bureaucrats who believe that an extensive criminal record should not keep an underprivileged youngster out of the corps.

Mansfield is particularly angered by the case of Manuel Martinez, a Billings youth who was signed up by the Job Corps last year despite a long history of juvenile delinquency. Martinez, 19, was sent to Camp Breckenridge, Ky., the scene of major riots.

The young corpsman was given leave last September to attend the funeral of his mother, who had committed suicide after fearing she would be returned to prison for narcotics law violations.

While in Billings, Martinez was arrested and charged with first-degree assault after shooting up a tavern and seriously wounding a woman patron. He was under the influence of drugs at the time.

Martinez' defense was taken over by the Job Corps and anti-poverty officials put up a $2,500 bond to get him out of jail. He was returned to Camp Breckenridge, then twice sent back to Billings for court appearances, once by train and once by plane, both at government expense. While in Billings, Martinez stayed in a $10-a-day hotel room and ate in the best restaurants, again at taxpayer expense.

The trial was set for May 2, but Martinez was not on hand.

On April 16 Martinez and a fellow corpsman went AWOL from Camp Breckenridge, crossed into Indiana and stole a car in Evansville. When police

Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has called for the closing of Camp Atterbury in his state.

gave chase, Martinez, who was at the wheel, tried to force a patrol car off U.S. 41, outside Evansville.

Martinez then veered into the wrong lane and his stolen car hit another vehicle. A 31-year-old mother, Mrs. John Adams, and her four-year-old son, David, were killed. Mr. Adams, 30, and another son, Mark, one, were seriously injured.

Martinez and his fellow corpsman, Joe L. Niaves, 19, were thrown from the stolen car. Both were critically injured and are still in a hospital.

The tragic story indicates something fundamentally wrong with the entire Job Corps, according to Mansfield. Stressing that he did not enjoy criticizing the program, Mansfield charged:

"Certainly a man with a criminal charge against him should be kept under surveillance. Also, there is a grave question as to any value this program might be to a person of this nature. The individual involved was given treatment and protection above and beyond that allowed the average citizen, only to have it thrown back at us with more criminal action.

"These camps should be limited to those who have given some indication that they want to be helped and are willing to try," Mansfield said. "It was not my intention to support the establishment of three reformatories in my state."

Note: Bands of young terrorists have quite literally driven decent youngsters from Job Corps Centers throughout the country. Only last week, seven youths fled the Camp Atterbury (Ind.) Job Corps Center, informing Johnson County Sheriff Art Worrick that their lives had been threatened.

Worrick picked up the youngsters several miles outside the camp. They told him they would have liked to stay, but feared for their safety. They said they had been threatened by corpsmen armed with straight razors, switch-blade knives and clubs. "I will be in trouble at home for leaving," said one corpsman, "but at least I'll get home alive."

Sheriff Worrick has turned over to Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) the names and addresses of the runaways, who hail from California, Ohio, West Virginia, North Carolina and Minnesota. Roudebush will contact the boys and learn first-hand of the incident.

The Indiana lawmaker has been a persistent critic of conditions at Camp Atterbury and has repeatedly called for the closing of the $10-million installation. In doing so, Roudebush undoubtedly speaks for the vast majority of Indiana residents. Townsfolk and merchants have been harassed by unruly corpsmen. Trainees have been arrested on charges ranging from sodomy to assault to drunkenness.

Anti-poverty officials actually blame law-abiding Hoosiers for conditions at Camp Atterbury. Many corpsmen, says one officials, "feel they are not welcome in the communities adjacent to Atterbury. If they're rejected, they'll react accordingly—and who can blame them?"

* * *

Rep. James Fulton (R.-Pa.) has represented his suburban Pittsburgh district for 14 years, chalking up a voting record among the most liberal of all GOP congressmen. Earlier this year, an outspoken young conservative, Ted Humes, announced that he would challenge the 63-year-old Fulton in the GOP primary. But Humes is having a tough time getting his case to the people. Six weekly newspapers which blanket the district have flatly refused to accept Humes' advertisements. All six, by coincidence, are owned by Fulton.

* * *

Officials of the AFL-CIO have promised all-out support to at least one Republican senator up for re-election. He is New Jersey's Clifford Case, an ultra-liberal who votes with the Administration on virtually every issue. Democrats are trying to talk former Gov. Robert Meyner into opposing Case. He could expect considerable support from conservative Republicans who are dissatisfied with their senior senator.

* * *

Rep. Abe Multer (D.-N.Y.) faces a tough primary fight from a prominent reform Democrat, Melvin Dubin. So the Brooklyn lawmaker inserted in the *Congressional Record* a 29-page "summary of accomplishments" during his 18 years in office. Cost to the taxpayers: $2,668. Multer will use government-supplied envelopes to send copies of the campaign tract to voters.

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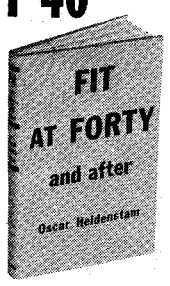

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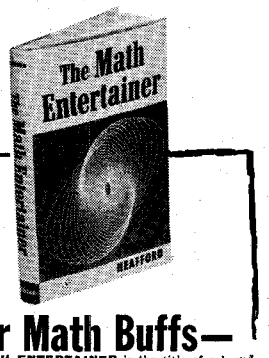

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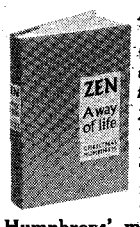

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As a Communist Watches

We Rush Toward State Capitalism

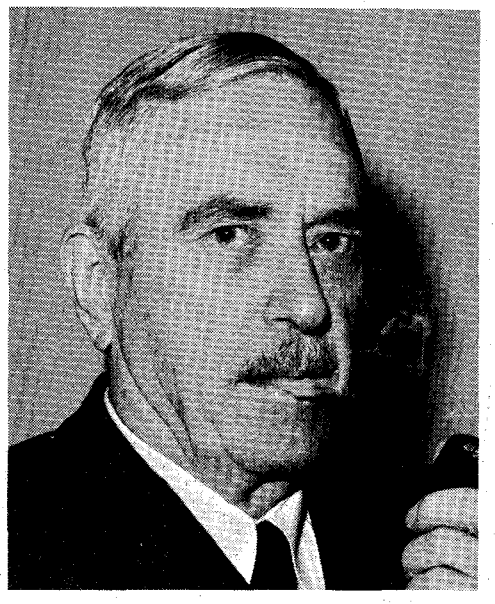
By MAX ENGLEMAN in the Dallas *Morning News*

Back in 1950 Earl Browder became embroiled in a one-sided debate with W.Z. Foster. Five years earlier, Foster had seized leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A., from Browder.

Well, Browder didn't like it a bit. Foster was wrong for the job. His search for CPUSA policy was not guided by theory; he didn't even understand the Marxism which he professed.

Something had to be done and, by golly, Browder was the one to do it. And never let it be said that a Browder was one to shirk his duty. No, sir.

Browder exposed theoryless Foster to the world in a two-part, 149-page essay



Communist leader Earl Browder correctly noted that nationalization is a mere technicality, that private ownership really disappears when private control is lost.

entitled "Keynes, Foster and Marx." While the two flimsy paperback books never made anyone's best-seller list (except, maybe, Browder's) their inside back covers discreetly noted that they could be purchased by the masses for 25¢ each at a newsstand on 42nd Street in New York City.

Foster, in his ignorance of Marxist theory, contended that the liberalism of the New Deal had left America's Reds without a shoe to pound.

Not so, Browder hotly cried. The growth of "state capitalism" in America guarantees a happy future for CPUSA. Once the state controls the nation's productive capability, formal nationalization of banks, steel mills, railroads and newspapers is but a mere technicality, he correctly pointed out.

The growth of state capitalism, Browder advised, is to be measured by the "concentration of the guiding reins of national economy in government hands."

And he continued: "The present vitality of American capitalism depends upon the extremely rapid growth of state intervention in the economy; that is, state capitalism. Without these state supports, the American economy would lapse into chaos almost overnight.

"The general trend to state capitalism . . . signifies a yielding, a capitulation of capitalist private ownership in face of the necessity for more socialized forms of the economy, and results in a more socially organized economy.

"F.D. Roosevelt, throughout the 12 years of his national leadership in developing the progressive program, found it tactically expedient to emphasize that it is not a Socialistic program and that it is the only way to preserve the existing system.

"Both of these statements are absolutely true. There is reason to believe, however, that Roosevelt himself was fully aware that the progressive program consists of steps toward socialism, and that his reason for avoiding discussion of that issue was expediency."

In this day of the "new economics," government guidelines for wages and prices, "voluntary" measures forced upon business by Washington to correct our balance-of-payments deficit, and of public threats from the President of the United States to firms or labor unions that refuse to toe the line, Browder's thesis deserves much more than a passing comment.

Those who see socialism or communism only as state ownership of all the means of production miss the point. Control is ownership.

Private ownership disappears as private control is lost. There is no such thing as ownership without control. One may have a deed to his property, but if he has no voice in its disposition, the piece of paper is meaningless.

And private control—even the control over our daily living that we take so much for granted—is being rapidly lost. Too many examples of Washington intrusion can be found by thumbing through newspapers:

• A New Jersey union "defies" the White House by negotiating a wage settlement well above Washington's wage "guidelines" of 3.2 per cent. The Administration threatens in retaliation to withhold funds until the union, New Jersey Operating Engineers Local 825, backs down.

• U.S. Steel, burned once by government pressure, pliantly seeks government permission before changing its prices.

• A federal agency, the Federal Trade Commission, bars National Tea Co. from acquiring, without FTC approval, any other food retailer for 10 years.

• Another agency yanks from the market a type of throat lozenge that had been sold and used in safety for 15 years. The experts in Washington had deemed the product ineffective.

• Cigarette makers announce that, "in accordance with the urgent request of the President of the United States," they will rescind a recent price raise.

• The National Commission on Food Marketing, a Washington study group which has taken aim at the nation's food industry, accidentally lets a preliminary report slip into the hands of the press. The report proposes a wide range of severe restrictions on the industry—from limiting the size of food companies to "truth-in-packaging" laws and a prohibition of trading stamps. Commission members rush forward to declare the report is only "preliminary."

So there you have it—gradual erosion of freedom caused by a constant drizzle of federal pressure upon the productive instruments of society.

This deterioration of freedoms is hard to spot on any one day. Like erosion of the soil, it hides behind the skirts of time.

But if it continues long enough, the land—our great land of America—will be ruined. The power grabs of Washington will have cut great gullies through the land, rendering it totally unproductive.

Freeman's Bureaucrats

'Come and Get It' Offices Expand

From the Chicago *Tribune*

An agency of the Department of Agriculture which was set up only 13 months ago with eight employes and a $99,000 budget now seeks congressional approval to expand to 2,492 employes with a budget of $3.468 million. The agency now has 75 employes in Washington alone and scores more over the country.

This is the Rural Community Development Service, which Secretary of Agriculture Freeman created in February of last year simply by drafting a memo. Unable to expand as fast as it desired last year with congressional approval, the agency got Mr. Freeman to siphon personnel and money from other branches of his department, which continue to pay their salaries.

Robert G. Lewis, administrator of the service, says it is designed to serve an "outreach" function.

In non-bureaucratic language, the idea is to set up field offices throughout the country where people in small towns and rural communities can go to find out how to tap the federal till for such things as housing, water systems, conservation practices, small business loans, job training, Medicare, Social Security—the whole array of welfare projects involved in the department's rural areas development program.

The service does not lend any money itself; it merely directs people to the agencies that do, such as, for example, the Farmers Home Administration or the Small Business Administration.

Farmers, of course, don't need a new office to tell them where to go for farm subsidies. The Agriculture Department already has an office of its Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service in virtually every country in the land, which this year will dispense more than $3.4 billion in direct subsidies alone for such things as not growing crops.

The government is spending money fast enough as it is without the need for a new bundle of bureaucrats whose sole function is to hustle the people to come and get it. The "outreach" service has overreached itself. Congress should order Mr. Freeman to draft another memo and abolish this affront to the taxpayers.

□ □ □

AFTER PENTAGON. WHAT?—The way Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has been carrying on recently, it looks as if there may be an Edsel in his future.—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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Viet Nam Projects Defended

Michigan Professor Answers 'Ramparts' Attack

By DR. WESLEY R. FISHEL

(The April issue of Ramparts, *a liberal Catholic magazine, published a zealous attack on Michigan State University for allegedly working with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Viet Nam. Central figure in the article, which received widespread publicity, was Dr. Wesley Fishel, an MSU professor of political science, who was chief of the University's Advisory Group to Viet Nam from 1956 to 1958. Dr. Fishel, the author of many books and articles on Asian politics, also served as consultant on governmental reorganization in Viet Nam in 1954 and 1955. Here is Dr. Fishel's side of the story.)*

The editors of *Ramparts* have perpetrated a brazen deception on the American reading public. For partisan political purposes they have skillfully and maliciously built an image of what the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, in an approving editorial, called "A university which sold out."

As experienced journalists, the people at *Ramparts* were certainly aware that a refutation never quite catches up with the initial accusations. Judging from the content of their article, and other pieces on the same subject that have previously appeared in their magazine, they have also calculated that the bigger the distortions and the more numerous the lies, the more likely readers would be to accept at least a portion of their allegations as true.

Their pages are filled with distortions, half-truths and quotations used out of context. At least 53 of the "facts" in their 12-page article on the Michigan State University project in Viet Nam are altogether untrue. What is significant here is not the gross nature of the charges that are scattered like shotgun pellets through the article, but rather the fact that the authors have known since July 1965 that many of their charges were untrue.

In the same magazine's July 1965 issue, two of the same writers published a broadside of vicious accusations and malicious innuendoes against a number of prominent Americans who have supported the idea of a free and independent South Viet Nam.

At that time, the editors were informed by letter (which *Ramparts* never saw fit to print) that their statements were untrue. One can only conclude, therefore, that whereas they may have been honestly mistaken last July, they are now deliberately lying.

Why should Robert Scheer, Warren Hinckle, Stanley Sheinbaum, Sol Stern, and Edward Keating (all *Ramparts* editors) indulge in deliberate character assassination? Why have they falsified the facts about a constructive university technical assistance program? One does not have to look far for the answers.

For one thing, Scheer, Sheinbaum and Keating are running for Congress in California. All are campaigning on a "Get the U.S. Out of Viet Nam" platform. Sheinbaum, a one-time instructor in economics at MSU who failed to complete the requirements for his doctorate and left the faculty, is running in Santa Barbara. Scheer is running in Berkeley, home of the University of California.

Why should California politicians go all the way to Michigan for a campaign issue? That isn't difficult to answer, either. What is "big" in Berkeley these days is the Viet Nam issue. Scheer was an active leader in the Viet Nam Day Protest Movement at Berkeley. Why not equate Michigan State University with the University of California; its president, John Hannah, with President Clark Kerr of Berkeley; raise the battle cry of "Viet Nam"; lie a little here, embellish a little there (when their accusations were challenged, the writers admitted having used "literary hyperbole"—a fancy phrase for falsehoods); tell a few titillating anecdotes, and stir into the frothy broth the nasty name, "CIA"? Such a formula could hardly fail.

Artillerymen of the 1st Battalion, 2nd Infantry, fire 105mm shells into Cambodia in recent Viet Nam combat. Meanwhile, back home, some leftists are running for Congress on a "Get Out of Viet Nam" platform.

Just what was the MSU project in Viet Nam? Was it a "spy operation?" Was it something evil?

The MSU Viet Nam project was one of more than 300 university-run technical assistance projects overseas sponsored by what is today called the Agency for International Development (AID). It originated very early in America's active involvement in Viet Nam, shortly after the Korean War ended, and in a period of serious insecurity and instability in Southeast Asia. French colonial rule was ending in Viet Nam and a new, independent, nationalist government in Saigon appeared to offer hope for the still free people of South Viet Nam.

This new regime, headed by a nationalist prime minister, Ngo Dinh Diem, asked the U.S. government for technical assistance from Michigan State University in the areas of public administration and police administration, areas in which MSU is particularly qualified.

The MSU professors and technical specialists were charged with helping the newly independent government in Saigon to rebuild its war-ravaged administration through training, research and advisory services. MSU staff members also advised the U.S. AID mission directly on technical problems such as tax reform, economic analysis, budgetary administration, civil police, communications and organization.

Problems of administration are usually acute in developing countries, and stand in the way of orderly social and economic progress. And in Viet Nam, as in other nations emerging from colonial bondage, it was crucial that ways be found to bring governmental services to the countryside, train civil servants to work effectively with the public and enforce law and order.

Thus, the MSU project was given high priority by the Vietnamese government and the U.S. AID mission in Saigon.

Early in 1955, when the MSU program began, the security of even the city of Saigon was in doubt, and the countryside was almost in a state of anarchy. The MSU program, therefore, stressed at the outset problems of an immediate impact nature. Studies and recommendations were made that led to the rehabilitation of 900,000 refugees who had fled the Communist north, and to administrative reorganization efforts to help bring governmental programs and services to remote areas of the country. The civil insecurity that prevailed after the signing of the Geneva agreements made it vital also to expand at the very outset the police administration side of the program.

An important part of the MSU effort was devoted to helping the Vietnamese organize a National Institute of Administration—an academy for career civil servants which would be the main instrument for bringing a new and liberalized administration to this newly independent state. The institute offered a three-year college level degree program for young civil servants, special night-school and in-service training courses for older officials.

The MSU project also included a major effort to help train and reorganize the civil police services of the South Vietnamese government. Frequent terrorist activity in the streets of Saigon and extreme insecurity in the countryside were unpleasant facts of life in 1955.

The police force was literally in the process of being wrested by the Diem government from the hands of the notorious Binh Xuyen gang (a sort of Vietnamese Mafia), which had bought it from the Emperor Bao Dai just two years earlier for $1.2 million. Thus, the civil police program was given high priority.

The MSU Department of Police Administration was asked to provide advisory support for this part of the MSU program, but its faculty was too small to meet the immense needs in Viet Nam and still meet its on-campus obligations without recruiting additional personnel. Leading police administrators and specialists were screened, recruited and hired from other universities and from municipal and state police forces across the United States.

To meet the need for specialists in counter-subversive techniques, it was necessary to hire men from the U.S. government, since only the federal government normally acts in this area. These individuals—who totaled only 5 per cent of the MSU group—were under the authority and control of the university team in Viet Nam, like their colleagues in traffic engineering, crime laboratory analysis and in all the areas of social science and public administration.

The accusations of Ramparts notwithstanding, there were no "agents" operating under "cover" in the MSU group, nor were there any MSU specialists providing the "base and the arms for the secret police." There were simply police specialists, whose origins and activities were, of course, known to the Vietnamese government as they were to the Americans with whom they worked on the MSU project, helping to train and advise the Vietnamese civil police.

Their efforts were considered by Vietnamese and American observers alike to be of such high quality that on several occasions an expansion of the police administration program was urged upon the university.

The entire project ended in June 1962, when the Vietnamese government objected to critical articles written for American magazines by MSU faculty members, and because the university made it plain that it could not and would not impose controls on its staff.

What did the MSU project accomplish? Its research publications have been a major source of information about Viet Nam for U.S. diplomatic, foreign aid and military officials being sent to that country. At least seven books, 25 monographs and textbooks, 30 study and survey reports and numerous articles resulted from the program.

Course offerings on the campus in such fields as political science, anthropology and economics reflect knowledge acquired during the Viet Nam experience. And in Viet Nam itself, the continuing work of the National Institute of Administration, the successful resettlement of the refugees from North Viet Nam, and reforms instituted in budgetary, financial and police administration attest to the success of MSU efforts.

Intelligent and constructive debate of the issues of our Viet Nam involvement is essential. Intelligent and constructive debate of the role of the public university is also in the public interest.

But what Sheinbaum, Scheer and their colleagues have done is to twist facts and confuse myth with reality for their own political ends. It would be nice to be able to say that the charges against MSU and its staff were simply uninformed, and that its writers committed naive errors. Unfortunately, the truth is otherwise. The charges are false, misleading and thoroughly irresponsible.

Behind a mask of piety and righteousness, the *Ramparts* writers have concealed their real purposes. The persistent effort to rewrite the history of the past 12 years in Viet Nam, to which they are parties, has, as Richard Goodwin has noted, carried the public debate into "irrelevant dead ends of discussion and contradiction." Truth is the first casualty in war. The Vietnamese war is no exception.

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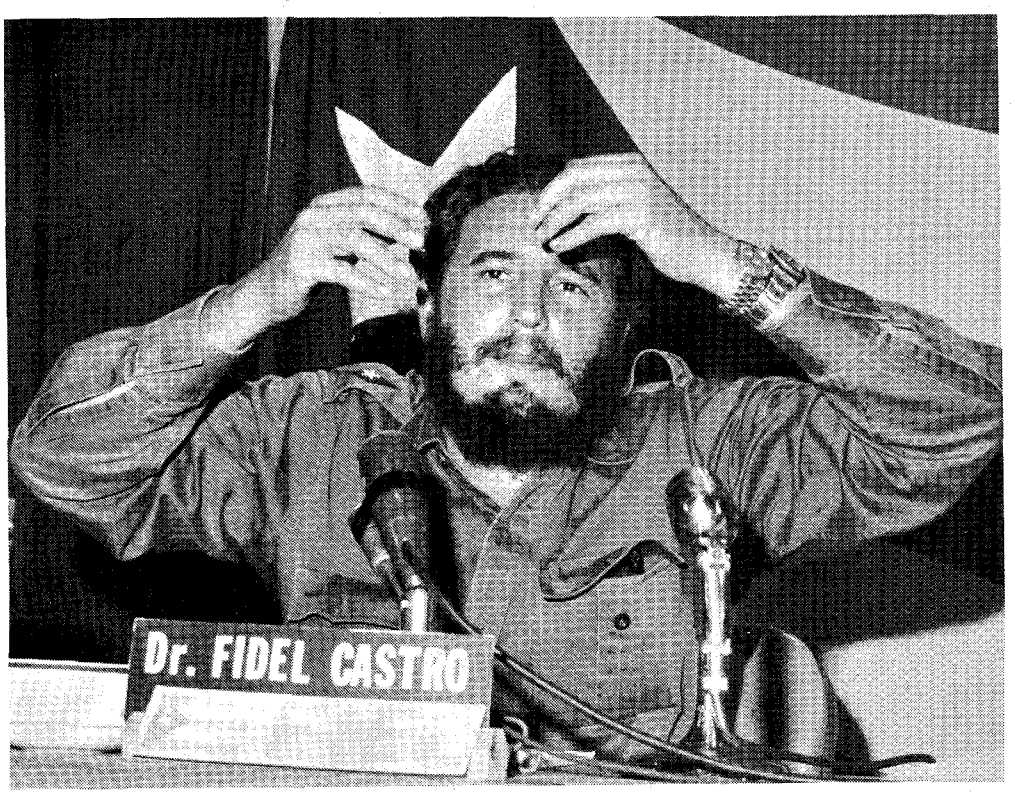

Fidel Castro's public exuberance hides the misery of the Cuban people. Gruesome conditions exist in his concentration camps, which houses large numbers of "political prisoners."

Castro's Concentration Camps

Hold 85,000 Political Prisoners

From the Allen-Scott Report

Fidel Castro is building a huge network of concentration camps to hold a steadily growing number of political prisoners.

Cuban refugees being airlifted to this country at the rate of 100 a day are telling intelligence authorities that the number of political prisoners in Castro's jails has soared to 85,000, at least 10 per cent higher than any previous estimates.

Of those imprisoned, more than 50 per cent are confined in some 45 specially constructed camps in isolated areas.

Several thousand of the political prisoners are women and former military officers—including a number of the latter recently accused of plotting Castro's assassination and overthrow of the Communist regime.

Refugees, including several who have been forced to work in these prison centers, described them as having "the same features of concentration camps in other totalitarian countries—barbed wire fences, guards with dogs, rudimentary barracks for shelter, and the infliction of corporal punishment and constant forced labor."

The camps were set up by Castro, the refugees say, after Cuba's main prisons—El Principe and La Cabana, underground dungeons used during Spanish rule, and the prison on the Isle of Pines—became overcrowded.

A Cuban lawyer, who unsuccessfully pleaded for some political prisoners, gave the following account of concentration camps he visited:

"There is a type of political prison in Cuba which is little known. This is the concentration camp. One of the most terrible is located on a farm called La Campana, in Las Villas province in the district of Manicaragua. It is completely enclosed with barbed wire, and is the headquarters of a revolutionary tribunal under the direction of Maj. Felix Torres, a long-time Communist.

"Another very similar concentration camp is in Cayo Largo. It is used for imprisoning civilians who oppose the government and members of the militia and armed forces who are judged to be unreliable.

"Another notorious concentration camp is Guanahacabibes, located at the western tip of Cuba on the peninsula with the same name. It is connected with the mainland by a narrow passageway and is very heavily guarded. Between 1,500 and 1,700 political prisoners are in the camp."

Many of the political prisoners, including one "lost American," have been driven insane by the brutal treatment of Castro's jailers, according to an eye-witness account of a former prisoner on the Isle of Pines.

"Some of my companions in the prison camp lost the idea of reality and went crazy," he stated. "One of them is an American citizen, who is totally unbalanced because of the harsh treatment he received. A young boy named Hernandes went crazy as a result of blows from his jailer."

This former prisoner, one of the few to reach the United States, stressed that "poor food, beatings and other mistreatment have caused serious illnesses among the prisoners."

Although Castro has permitted more than 21,000 Cubans to come to the United States since the refugee airlift began last December, the Communist dictator has flatly refused to release political prisoners, except in two isolated cases.

In a counter move Castro has proposed that the political prisoners be exchanged on a one-for-one basis for Communist espionage and subversion agents serving sentences in jails throughout the Western hemisphere.

This has been flatly rejected by the United States. One reason is that under Castro's terms he would be free to send agents to Latin American countries with the virtual guarantee they could be freed if captured.

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A WISE REQUEST—The late Rev. Peter Marshall, chaplain of the U.S. Senate, left a rich heritage of sermons and prayers. From one of his Senate prayers comes this excerpt: "Give us clear vision, that we may know where to stand and what to stand for, because unless we stand for something, we shall fall for anything."—From *Sunshine* magazine

Chutzpah—With a Texas Accent

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Though this Administration uses the spoils system Old Hickory inaugurated—over 100,000 federal employes will be added to the payroll this year—it would obviously be misleading to call this the Age of Jackson. Besides, LBJ has thrown in some gimmicks of his own and I suspect future historians may call it the Age of Chutzpah.

I take it that word is now fairly well known, for Lucille Ball sang a song about it on TV the other night. But it wasn't always so. And I flatter myself I had a small hand in popularizing it.

About five years ago, composing an essay on the patently false Alice-in-Wonderland prescriptions the liberal con men were hawking as new revelations from Sinai, I groped for the right word to describe their utter brazenness. This was before the Free Speech Movement, so I had to discard some Anglo-Saxon four-letter words that came to mind. And, though I had had some small Latin and less Greek, both were rusty and completely unequal to the occasion.

Then out of my subconscious leaped the one definitive word, chutzpah, that glorious Yiddish term of contempt which signifies arrogance, effrontery and gall carried to the nth degree. The perfect word for a government that keeps living beyond its means while exhorting the citizens to tighten their own belts.

But I realized many of my readers had been brought up in underprivileged homes where Yiddish was not spoken. So I was careful to explain what it meant, give assurances it could be used in mixed company, and offer meticulous instructions on how to pronounce it.

Bad speech habits are hard to correct and may injure one socially, I knew. So I was firm in pointing out that the accent was on the first syllable; and that the initial "ch" was neither the one of "chore" nor of "chorus" but rather like the Greek "chi" or the Scottish "loch." And I stressed the necessity of getting the throat muscles into the act in order to attain the withering contempt the bizarre combination of unlikely consonants was meant to convey.

My conscientiousness paid off. I am rarely able to boast of any success, but that particular column brought considerable response. The day it appeared locally, I had an early morning call from my good friend of blessed memory, Hedda Hopper. *"Chutzpah!"* she said. "Morrie, am I pronouncing it right? This is important!"

It was important indeed to her, because she was scheduled for a party that night and she was to be seated at dinner, she had learned, next to a prominent Hollywood liberal, well known not only for his ideas but for spouting them at any opportunity.

So we had a 10-minute drill over the phone. Hedda had been on the stage and was a quick study and by the time we were through she was letter-perfect. But, just to make sure, she called again at six for a refresher course.

The next morning, Hedda phoned again. "Consider yourself kissed, teacher," she crowed. "It was fabulous! I waited until everybody was listening to him and right in the middle of it, I let him have it. *'Chutzpah!'* I said, loud and clear.

"That stopped him cold. He hesitated and asked 'What did you say?' 'Chutzpah!' I repeated. 'You understand English, don't you?' And I don't think the creep opened his mouth again till he left."

And I have another happy reminiscence about that essay. A couple of years later, some hospitable Texans—if that isn't redundant—invited me to a GOP dinner in Amarillo. And, after the dinner, they plied me with their native branch water, to which they had added something pleasant-tasting—obviously not fluoride, which is tasteless.

Now, I do not say Amarillo branch water is good for your teeth, but I can testify that two or three glasses of it will make even a confirmed pessimist look at the world more kindly. At any rate, I was in an unusually good mood when one of the Texans pulled out a copy of the old *chutzpah* column and asked would I mind teaching them the correct way to pronounce the strange word.

How could I refuse? And I'm prepared to say that though *"Chutzpah!"* is a powerful imprecation in its own right, you haven't known its full impact till you've heard it delivered in unison in the rich accents of Texas. I've adopted it myself for use whenever the Administration comes up with another panacea.

Which is every day, including Sundays.

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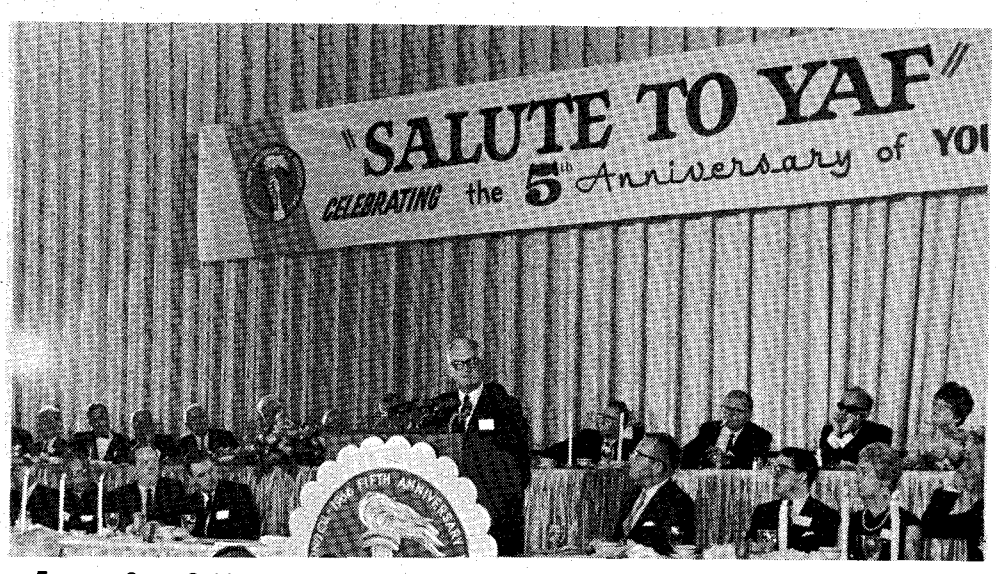


Former Sen. Goldwater captivated the audience with his "I told you so" appraisal of Administration policies, sharply attacked the appeasement policies of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), telling his listeners, "Conservatism remains the only successful political philosophy ever known by man."

YAF Celebrates 5th Anniversary

More than 1,300 persons turned out for a banquet last week at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the founding of Young Americans for Freedom. An impressive array of conservative leaders from all over the country attended the "Salute to YAF," which featured Barry Goldwater as main speaker and former Rep. Ed Foreman of Texas as master of ceremonies.

Among the other speakers were former Rep. Katharine St. George (R.-N. Y.), Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) and Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.). Congratulatory telegrams from such notables as Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.) and Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S. C.) were read to the gathering.

Many members of Congress were in attendance, including: Senators Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), Milward Simpson (R.-Wyo.) and Strom Thurmond (R.-S. C.); and Representatives E. Y. Berry (R.-S. D.), William G. Bray (R.-Ind.), William E. Brock (R.-Tenn.), John Buchanan (R.-Ala.), H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), Edward J. Gurney (R.-Fla.), Ralph Harvey (R.-Ind.), Chester Mize (R.-Kan.), Armistead Selden (R.-Ala.) and Albert Watson (R.-S. C.).

Other honored guests included Jameson Campaigne Sr., editor of the Indianapolis *Star*; Gen. Mark W. Clark, recently retired president of the Citadel; Hon. Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey; Gen. Bonner Fellers, national chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee; Devin Garrity, president of Devin-Adair book publishers; Neil McCaffery, founder and president of the Conservative Book Club; Charles McManus, executive director of Americans for Constitutional Action and Henry Regnery, longtime publishers of conservative books.

The "Salute to YAF" banquet drew many well-known names. Front row, from left to right: Lee Edwards, public relations consultant; Sen. Milward Simpson (R.-Wyo.); Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.); Donald E. Lukens, past president of the Young Republican National Federation, and Dr. Max Yergan, co-chairman, American-African Affairs Association. Back row, from left: Rep. Charles R. Jonas (R.-N. C.); Rep. E. Y. Berry (R.-S. D.); Rep. William G. Bray (R.-Ind.); Donald C. Bruce, president of Newscope, Inc.; syndicated columnists John Chamberlain and Ralph de Toledano.

Barry Goldwater admires a model plane presented to him at the banquet as YAF National Chairman Tom Charles Huston looks on.

Why Thomas Mann Quit

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

The official word in connection with the resignation of Thomas C. Mann as under secretary of state is that he is retiring because of health.

There is unusually strong emphasis on Mr. Mann's health in liberal columnists' comments on the departure of this career diplomat who has long been known as a "hard-liner" in dealing with Latin America.

But those who know him say he appears quite fit and that his 53 years do not weigh heavily upon him. And from so knowledgeable a commentator as William S. White, who usually knows what's going on in and around the highest levels of government, comes word that the "far-liberals" got Tom Mann.

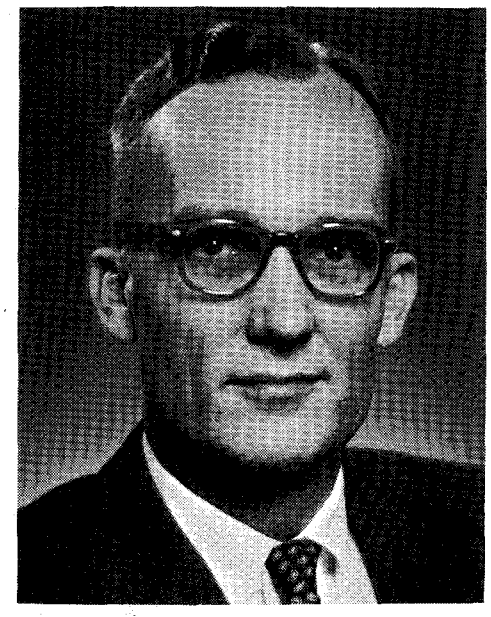
What did they have on him?

There is not a whisper about his integrity. He is a brilliant man who has been patient and fair in negotiation, who commands the respect—and, as Mr. White points out, the admiration and personal friendship—of most Latin leaders.

But he has stood stubbornly for America's interests as well as those of the hemisphere in all his 24 years in the foreign service. He has been an outspoken advocate of the enterprise system.

His "offense," in the eyes of those who have made life miserable for him at the State Department, is that he has refused automatically to bow to the demands of homegrown and Latin American liberals.

It was Tom Mann who helped the Brazilians free themselves from the influences of Castroism and who strongly supported the anti-Communist Branco government. It was Tom Mann who pointed out that the choice in the Dominican Republic was intervention or anarchy. And it was he who, in columnist White's words, "has been the central target of far liberals who tirelessly seek the ouster of any official who openly regards the protection of basic national interests as his first obligation."



A stubborn fighter for American interests, Mann was never fully accepted at the State Department.

If Tom Mann can't survive, what other man of strength can do so, or would try to do so?

His resignation marks a sad day.

□ □ □

THE BUCK—When Harry S. Truman was President a sign posted in his office declared "The buck stops here." What it clearly meant was it couldn't be passed beyond that point. Terminus. Finis. Etc. Not only that. It also was worth about 15 cents more at the time.—From the Nashville *Banner*

□ □ □

FARMERS MAY REBEL—Republicans expect major farm state gains as resentment against Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman grows. The prices received by farmers for crops and livestock fell two per cent during the month ending April 15. The Agriculture Department monthly farm price report also showed that the cost of production and living supplies purchased by farmers rose two-thirds of 1 per cent during the month to an all-time high, 4 per cent above a year earlier.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Power of Letters

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

The growing frustrations of both foreign and domestic affairs are adding to the complications of this session of Congress. We expect a long, hot summer session with the major subject of debate the inconsistency of the Administration's promotion of larger spending schemes in the face of rising costs of the war in Viet Nam. . . . Please remember my constant admonition that "No king ever wielded a scepter more powerful than a five-cent pencil in the hands of an American citizen when he sits down to write his representative."

'Creative Federalism'

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

I have been intrigued by the frequency of the use of a magic new motto which only recently came into vogue. Practically every major spokesman for the Administration tailors every speech to the term "creative federalism." . . .The federalism under which the United States has operated has been "creative" in the ideal sense of that word. It has created a measure of wealth, health, knowledge, culture and freedom unmatched by any other system with which man has experimented. So if this is what "creative federalism" is meant to define, I embrace the motto. I fear, however, that the context in which the motto is used by modern day orators bespeaks a different definition. Too often the speechmakers imply that federalism is creative only when the federal government does the creating. Such a definition, of course, promotes only one part and demotes all other parts of the federal system.

End to Treason

By SEN. RUSSELL LONG (D.-La.)

I believe it is time for an end to this business of young men burning their draft cards and people ripping down and destroying the flag of the United States to show contempt for their country. To me this is sheer treason and is shameful at a time when the very honor of that flag is at stake on the battlefield. Freedom of speech and the right of petition are precious American liberties, but this does not call for giving aid and comfort to the enemy when our boys are fighting for their country. Such acts were deemed treasonous in other wars and they should be now. If these people insist upon ridiculing and mocking their nation, we ought to put them in jail.

Crocodile Tears

By REP. JOHN ANDERSON (R.-Ill.)

It was not a fellow partisan but a crusty commentator for the New York *Times*, Arthur Krock, who some months ago wrote that he feared the "Great Society" was being built not on a solid foundation of bedrock but on a cushion of inflationary hot air. Recent advances in wholesale and retail price indices to record highs would seem to credit him with a far more prophetic insight than some Administration economists.

The country is currently witnessing what almost amounts to a pushing and shoving contest between the President and the Congress over who is to blame for busting the budget. The President is quoted almost daily as lamenting the fact that Congress is going to appropriate $3 billion more than he asked for in his budget, and force him for that reason to ask for a tax increase. This complaint of congressional fiscal irresponsibility suffers from two major and basic defects: (1) the President enjoys a better than 2-to-1 majority in both Houses of Congress, and it is a majority that for almost two years now has always been remarkably compliant when the President chose to use his well-known powers of persuasion; and (2) the President can always veto a congressional appropriation act if he so desires, in which event a two-thirds vote would be necessary to override his wishes.

November Revolt

By REP. THOMAS PELLY (R.-Wash.)

I have stated very frankly that my constituents' views (and I talked to a great many), almost without exception expressed personal disillusionment with President Johnson and his policies. Many persons, both Democrats and Republicans, who stated they had voted for Lyndon Johnson in 1964, said that they will not make the same mistake again. Almost without exception, too, I heard the statement made that Lyndon Johnson has misled the country over Viet Nam. The people are expressing a lack of confidence. They say they don't buy his brand of political 'claimsmanship,' as one person put it. The voters' disillusionment with the policies of the Johnson Administration will be overwhelmingly reflected in this fall's election.

House Reinstates Rent Subsidy, 192-188

Following is the cliff-hanging 192-to-188 rollcall vote by which the House on May 10 voted to reinstate $20 million to pay for President Johnson's rent subsidy plan for fiscal 1967, thus overriding earlier action by the House Appropriations Committee. The bill faces another final test in the Senate (see story, page 4).

DEMOCRATS FOR: 186

Adams, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Aspinall, Bandstra, Barrett, Beckworth, Bingham, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke, Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Callan, Cameron, Carey, Celler, Clark, Clevenger, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Craley, Daddario, Daniels, Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Denton, Dingell, Donohue, Dow, Dulski, Duncan (Ore.), Dyal, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Evans (Colo.), Everett, Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Farnsley, Farnum, Fascell, Feighan, Flood, Ford, Wm. D., Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Gallagher, Garmatz, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gilligan, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Grider, Griffiths, Hagen (Calif.), Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Iowa), Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hechler, Holifield, Holland, Howard, Hungate, Huot, Irwin, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Johnson (Okla.), Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kee, Keogh, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Krebs, Landrum, Leggett, Long (Md.), Love, McDowell, McFall, McGrath, Machen, Mackay, Mackie, Madden, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller, Minish, Mink, Moeller, Moorhead, Morris, Morrison, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N. Y.), Nedzi, Nix, O'Brien, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Powell, Price, Pucinski, Race, Redlin, Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Rivers (Alaska), Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Roncalio, Rooney (Pa.), Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Schisler, Schmidhauser, Secrest, Senner, Shipley, Sickles, Sisk, Slack, Stalbaum, Steed, Stephens, Stubblefield, Sweeney, Tenzer, Thomas, Thompson (N. J.), Thompson (Tex.), Trimble, Tuten, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Vivian, Walker (N. M.), Weltner, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 6

Halpern, Harvey (Mich.), Horton, Kupferman, Reid (N. Y.), Tupper

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 69

Abbitt, Addabbo, Andrews, George, Ashmore, Bennett, Cabell, Cooley, Culver, Davis (Ga.), Dorn, Downing, Fisher, Flynt, Fountain, Fuqua, Gathings, Gettys, Hagan (Ga.), Haley, Hamilton, Hardy, Hebert, Herlong, Hicks, Ichord, Jarman, Jennings, Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N. C.), Kornegay, Lennon, Long (La.), McMillan, McVicker, Mahon, Marsh, Matthews, Mills, Natcher, Olsen (Mont.), O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Pike, Poage, Pool, Purcell, Randall, Rivers (S. C.), Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Scott, Selden, Sikes, Smith (Va.), Stratton, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Todd, Tuck, Waggonner, Watts, White (Idaho), White (Tex.), Whitener, Whitten

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 119

Anderson (Ill.), Andrews, Glenn, Andrews (N. D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Bates, Battin, Belcher, Bell, Berry, Betts, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Broomfield, Brown, Clarence, Broyhill (N. C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burton (Utah), Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Conable, Conte, Corbett, Cramer, Cunningham, Curtin, Curtis, Dague, Davis (Wis.), Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan (Tenn.), Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Ellsworth, Erlenborn, Fino, Ford, Gerald, Fulton (Pa.), Goodell, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gurney, Hall, Halleck, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Harvey (Ind.), Hosmer, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N. Y.), Kunkel, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, McClory, McCulloch, McDade, McEwen, MacGregor, Martin (Ala.), Martin (Neb.), May, Minshall, Mize, Moore, Morton, Mosher, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pelly, Pirnie, Poff, Quie, Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Robison, Roudebush, Schneebeli, Schweiker, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N. Y.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Walker (Miss.), Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Widnall, Wilson, Bob, Wyatt, Wydler, Younger

ANSWERED "PRESENT": 4

Greigg, Olson (Minn.), Rogers (Tex.), Smith (Iowa), all Democrats

NOT VOTING: 48

New Measure Vastly Increases Freeman's Power

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

The more a person watches the bureaucrats at work, the more he realizes that sooner or later, in one way or another, they are able to accomplish their dreams.

In education, welfare, labor and agriculture, for example, the record has been made abundantly clear through the pronouncements of the advocates of big government that they have plans for totally socializing our country. What they continually look for—and this isn't always easy—*is the proper vehicle.*

In Medicare, those who want socialized medicine have found their vehicle for piecemeal realization of their dream. In the federalization of unemployment compensation, those who advocate giving a man as much when he isn't working as when he is working—the guaranteed annual wage—have found their vehicle. In rent supplements and guaranteed subsistence income proposals, the advocates of socialization have found just what they need to get the ball rolling. By working through the back door, the advocates of massive federal aid to and control of education have found their vehicle in the poverty program approach. Where there is a will, there is a way, so to speak, and the bureaucrats have both. It matters not how small and limited the original vehicle is—all they need is the means to get started.

Many of you will recall that I pointed out the effort at complete take-over of the agricultural program by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman back in 1961. His proposal would have literally ended the legislative power of Congress in the field of agriculture. The high-sounding title of "supply management" was used but, to his credit, it was at least an outright, bald request for power which he made no bones about. Congress properly turned him down.

Now comes another means of accomplishing the same thing in H.R. 12784, the so-called Agricultural Stockpile bill. This time the request comes in an oblique way of accomplishing the same thing without the directness of the 1961 approach.

As I have indicated on numerous occasions in the past, it is impossible to understand these high-sounding titles unless you fully appreciate the bureaucratic goals. We now have a $14.5-billion super-agency called the Commodity Credit Corp., which deals with farm surplus. It started out as a means of taking surplus off the market to ease the farmer's plight. Now the CCC is to become a stockpile agency to forward the war against worldwide famine and protect us at home from famine, drought and short supply during nuclear attack. A laudable purpose, but it is merely the vehicle to accomplish what Secretary Freeman has wanted since 1961.

H.R. 12784 contains revolutionary authority which would permit Mr. Freeman to establish a government stockpile of every farm commodity he might deem appropriate. He would have virtually unrestricted authority to dump these commodities back on the market at any time he wanted to.

Read carefully this provision of H.R. 12784 if you have any doubts in your mind:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of the law, the price support level, the acreage allotment and the marketing quotas for any agricultural commodity may be increased above that which would be established for such commodity to the extent that the secretary determines necessary in order to obtain production needed for the establishment and maintenance of the reserves established under this act."

In other words, every other agricultural law on the books could be negated by this simple provision! Throughout the bill, the words "as the secretary may determine" and "as the secretary may direct" are found. There are no specified limitations on stockpiles, no quantities are indicated, nor is the method of reducing the stockpiles pinned down.

It is bad enough to give such a broad delegation of power to those who would impeccably serve the public interest; it is quite something else to give it to someone like Secretary Freeman, who by his statements and actions has clearly indicated that his main interest is increased control over all phases of agriculture.

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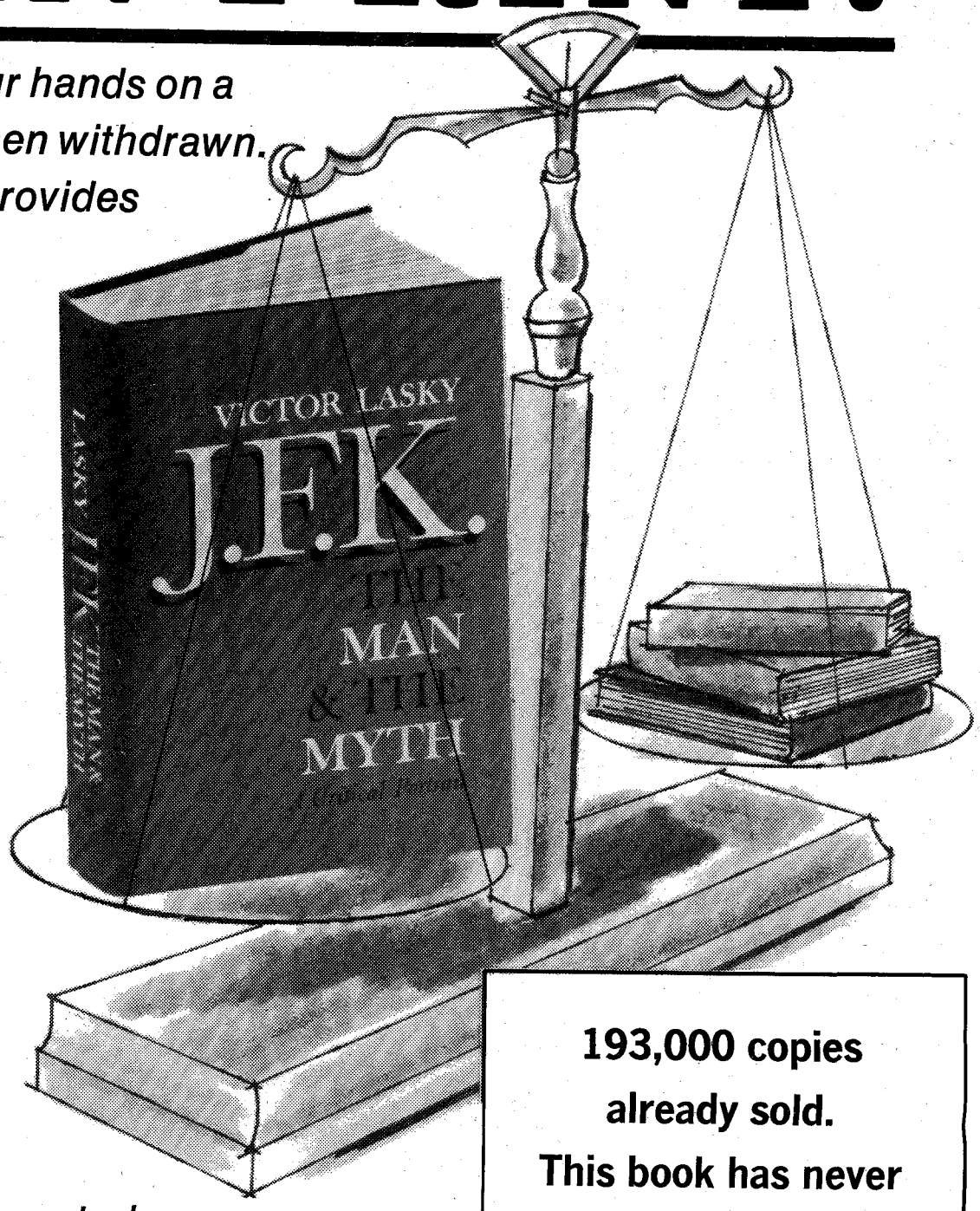

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- The famed but hard-to-find Bailey Report, outlining the Kennedy strategy for luring the "Catholic vote."
- Kennedy's on-again, off-again relations with Senator Joe McCarthy.
- Kennedy's reputation among his colleagues in Congress.
- How Kennedy arranged to run for Congress while not a resident of his district.
- The eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with LBJ that left Kennedy quivering.
- Hedda Hopper's revelations about Joseph Kennedy's hasty withdrawal from the movie business.
- The document that started the strange rumors of a first Kennedy marriage.
- The hilarious, incredible, tear-drenched scene that saw Hubert Humphrey block Kennedy's V.P. drive in 1956.
- Surprising evidence that, at the age of 40, Kennedy's personal finances were still being managed by his father.
- Why New York Supreme Court Justice Hecht called the Kennedys "greedy."
- Kennedy's ties with the Hollywood "Rat Pack."
- How the "Clan" would relax, and why Jacqueline Kennedy felt out of place.
- The men behind Kennedy—Schlesinger, Bundy, Sorensen, Galbraith, etc.—and the power they wielded.
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